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**Spanish colonization of Florida in the first quarter of  
the 16th century: methods, features, causes of failure**

Specialty 5.6.2. – General history (new and progressive  
history)

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## **Introduction**

### **The relevance**

**The relevance** of a particular study is always associated with the place that it occupies in the circle of special issues with access to the problems of our time.

Identification of the reasons for the failure of Florida's development makes it possible to analyze the course of world history, comparing it with the events of today.

The relevance of the stated topic is also determined by the low degree of knowledge of the circumstances of the discovery and the reasons for the failure of the development of Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

It should be noted that there is a limited number of academic and scientific-practical studies covering this area in Soviet and Russian historical science.

The work carried out as part of a dissertation research reveals the mechanisms and features of the relationship between royal power and local administration in the West Indies.

This analysis of the struggle is relevant in relation to both the existing administrative and financial interests between the central government and the interests of regional elites. The study explains the underlying causes of this conflict, which influenced the course of the Spanish colonization of Florida.

Today's actual task is the question of the memory of the disappeared tribes who previously inhabited the peninsula of Florida.

Studying their culture and the successful struggle against the colonialists of the region, it must be emphasized that this struggle covered a long period: the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The tribes of southern Florida, united despite their differences, were able to repel all attempts by Europeans to establish their control over this territory. The paper highlights relevant historical events and analyzes the methods of confrontation between different cultures.

### **The object of the study**

*The object* of the study is the process of colonization of Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

### **The subject of the study**

*The subject* of the study is a complex of reasons that affected the failure of the Spanish colonization of Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

### **The chronological framework**

The chronological framework of the events described includes the period from 1492 to 1525. The first date was chosen due to the fact that on April 17, 1492, when was signed "Capitulations of Santa Fe" between the Spanish kings - Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I Castile on one side and Christopher Columbus on the other side. The document determined the obligations of the parties in the event of the discovery of new lands. In turn, 1525 was chosen due to the fact that in this year Pedro de Quejo reconnaissance expedition was carried out, during which 700 miles of Spanish Florida were explored from the Atlantic Ocean. Subsequent expeditions were sent to establish settlements in Florida, bypassing the south of

the peninsula as an unfriendly place where the prospect of establishing a permanent settlement was excluded.

### **The territorial scope**

*The territorial scope* of the study is determined by the place of landing of legal expeditions on the coast of Florida and the territory of residence of the Indian tribes who organized resistance to the attempts of the Spaniards to master the peninsula. The part of the Florida peninsula from modern Tampa Bay to the Key West islands - from north to south, and from Melbourne to Tampa Bay - from east to west is considered in detail. At the same time, it should be remembered that the borders of Spanish Florida in the 16th century. markedly different from the current boundaries of the state of Florida.

### **The degree of development of the theme.**

**The foreign historiography of this theme is very extensive.**

**Three large periods** can be distinguished: 1) works on the heritage of the Spanish colonial period during the development of the US territories; 2) special works on the history of the colonization of Florida; 3) the special works investigation's works about archeological of Indian society of Florida

**The first period** included the works of the American scientific William Hickling Prescott «Conquest of Peru»<sup>1</sup> and «History of The Conquest of Mexico»<sup>2</sup>, which was published in

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott W. H. Conquest of Peru. The Book League of America, 1945. 369 c.

<sup>2</sup> Он же. History of The Conquest of Mexico: With A Preliminary View of The Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the life of the Conqueror, Hernando

1847-48. This is due to the predominance of dislike of Catholicism in society with the temporary resettlement of the first English settlers and the Founding Fathers of America, who were Protestants, and because of the American-Spanish War of 1898.

Therefore, it was not customary to consider the Spanish heritage in America - the so-called "frontier theory"<sup>3</sup> dominated in historiography, which was outlined by the American scientist Frederick Jackson Turner in a scientific article in 1893. Turner's thesis ignored the terms of race, class, and gender: he abandoned European practices and created a new term, "the American world"<sup>4</sup>.

The problem of the legacy of the Spanish colonization of the territory called "La Florida" somehow required consideration. The first person to raise the issue of Spanish heritage in the United States was a student of F.D. Turner - Herbert Eugene Bolton. Bolton was the first American scholar to study the impact of Spanish colonization on American history, based on his principle that the history of the United States cannot be studied in isolation from the history of other American peoples.

Being engaged in the history of Spanish America and having the title of professor at the University of California at Berkeley, Bolton offered his vision of the history of the USA. He developed the "Bolton theory" and coined the term "borderlands". The scientist founded the HAHR scientific journal "The Hispanic American Historical Review" and prepared 300 Ph.D. and 104

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Cortés. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006. 576 c.

<sup>3</sup> Other names for "frontier theory" are "frontier thesis", "frontier thesis", "Turner thesis", or "frontier theory".

<sup>4</sup> Turner F. J. The Frontier in American History. New York, 1921. P. 375.

doctoral dissertations. His book on campaigns in 1540-1542. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján in Spanish Florida was based on data from archives in Mexico<sup>5</sup>.

The publication of the work on the Coronado expedition was an important milestone in the study of the era of the Spanish colonization of the New World, causing considerable interest from the American scientific community.

Further development of the theme of the Spanish inheritance in the history of the United States is associated with the writings of John Tate Lanning from Duke University. Lanning was one of the first to write about the "Spanish Enlightenment" as a result of the evangelization of Florida and showed the complete failure of the practice of ignoring the Spanish era in the history of North America.

The publication of his work "The Spanish Missions of Georgia"<sup>6</sup> by the University of North Carolina in 1935 marked the beginning of a period of research on the influence of monasticism on the lives of the local population and colonists. The author made extensive use of archival materials from Madrid, Paris, London, and Mexico City. These studies not only laid the foundation, but also gave impetus to many other scientists who began to study the rich heritage of the culture of local tribes of Florida against on the backdrop of the Christianization.

**The second** period in foreign historiography includes the works of authors who turned their attention to the unique phenomenon of the Christianization of the New World in the

<sup>5</sup> Bolton H. E. Coronado on the Turquoise Trail: Knight of Pueblos and Plains. Albuquerque, 1949. P. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Lanning J. T. The Spanish missions of Georgia. Chapel Hill, 1935. P. 291.

Spanish colonial period. This period fell on the time after the Second World War. Back then, the work of Ph.D. and clergyman Michael V. Gannon of the University of Florida played a big role in redefining Florida history<sup>7</sup>. His work *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*<sup>8</sup> was the basis from which the theme of Spanish Florida and its heritage was further development. In his book, M. Gannon touched upon the extensive topic of relations between the natives and the monks of various Christian orders, who were engaged in the conversion of the local population to the Christian faith. In 1972, Gannon's outstanding role as a scholar in researching the history of Florida and the travels of Christopher Columbus was awarded the honorary title of Companion of the Order of Isabella the Catholic.

Numerous scientific works of John H. Hann<sup>9</sup> also touched with the topic of Spanish Christianization and its perception by local tribes. For example, Hann lighted a wide range of such issues in his book «Summary guide to Spanish Florida missions and visitas»<sup>10</sup>. Christian missions in Calusa lands in southern

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<sup>7</sup> Gannon M. *The cross in the sand: the early Catholic Church in Florida. 1513-1870*. Gainesville, 1965. XV, P. 210.; Он же. *The New History of Florida: University Press of Florida*, 1996. XVI, 480 p.; Он же. *The History of Florida*. Gainesville, 2018. P. 557.

<sup>8</sup> Он же. *The cross in the sand...* Gainesville, 1965. XV, P. 210.

<sup>9</sup> Hann J.H. *Missions to the Calusa*. Gainesville, 1991. P. 460; Он же. *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*. Gainesville, 1996. P. 400.; Он же. *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis (Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States)*. Gainesville, 1998. P. 208.; Он же. *The Native American world beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley*. Gainesville, 2002. P. 250.; Он же. *Indians of Central and South Florida 1513-1763*. Gainesville, 2003. P. 249.

<sup>10</sup> Он же. *Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and Visitas. With Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. The Americas*. 1990. № The Americas. P. 417-513.

Florida can be seen in his book «Missions to the Calusa»<sup>11</sup>. Relations Spanish monks with the tribes of the Timucua language group on the Atlantic coast are described in the scientific study «A history of the Timucua Indians and missions»<sup>12</sup>.

D. Hann investigated missions in the territories of the Indian tribes of the Appalachians in the scientific work "The Appalachian Indians and Mission San Luis"<sup>13</sup>. He wrote that the "average American" does not associate Catholic missions with either Florida or Georgia, and therefore they remain little known even in scientific circles. Hann's books «The Native American world beyond Apalachee: west Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley»<sup>14</sup> and («Indians of central and south Florida, 1513-1763»)<sup>15</sup> provide important information about the life of the Florida aborigines. D. Hann used original documents from the archives of Spain, America and other countries. His works showed numerous attempts by Christian orders to conduct missions on the coast of Florida and the reaction of the Indian peoples. The scientist compiled a list of 128 missions in Spanish Florida, grouping them by place, time of foundation and tribal affiliation of the natives.

**The third period** includes works based on a large archaeological base, which allowed reconstructing the real way

<sup>11</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa. Gainesville, 1991. P. 460.

<sup>12</sup> Hann J.H. A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions. Gainesville, 1996. P. 400.

<sup>13</sup> Он же. The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis (Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States). Gainesville, 1998. P. 208.

<sup>14</sup> Он же. The Native American world beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley. Gainesville, 2002. P. 250.

<sup>15</sup> Он же. Indians of Central and South Florida 1513-1763. Gainesville, 2003. P. 249.



of life of the peoples of southern Florida and their straggle against the Spanish colonization.

The articles of archaeologist and anthropologist Gerald Milanich (J.T. Milanich) from the University of Florida are widely known. He worked as a curator at the Florida Museum of Natural History. Milanich received the Florida Historical Society Award in 2013. Milanich's works served as an important material for this dissertation research. The painstaking work "Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe"<sup>16</sup> contains many new facts that relate to the interaction of Spaniards with local tribes in the XVI century. Milanich's 1999 work "Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians"<sup>17</sup> on missions on the land of Spanish Florida expanded the work of M. Gannon and D. Hanna on the study of places and the functioning of missions of Christian orders in the XVI-XVII centuries.

Numerous works by William Marquardt are very important. Marquardt curated the archaeological and ethnographic collections of South Florida at the Museum of Florida in Gainesville. Since 1983, he has directed the Southwest Florida Project, dedicated to found artifacts belonging to the Calusa tribe (present-day Charlotte, Lee and Collier counties, Florida). His numerous works on the Calusa culture have made an undeniable contribution to the study of the Indians of Southwest Florida<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Milanich J.T. Corn and Calusa: DeSoto and Demography. In *Coasts, Plain and Deserts: Essays in Honor of Reynold J. Ruppe // Research Papers*. 1987. Vol. 38. P. 173-184.

<sup>17</sup> Он же. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington, 1999. P. 210.

<sup>18</sup> Marquardt W. *Hunters and Gatherers*. London, 1987. Vol. 1. P. 252.; Он же. *Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology*. *Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology*. 2014.

It should be noted that when creating the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville, Gerald Milanich drew attention to the distortion of the image of the Indians by the publisher and engraver of the 16th century, Theodore de Bry<sup>19</sup>. De Bry himself had never been to America, but as a result of his publishing activities directed against Catholic Spain, many images and facts were falsified. On the part of D. Milanich, the authenticity of the paintings bought by De Bry in London<sup>20</sup> in the 16th century from the widow of an eyewitness to the events, the Frenchman Jacques Le Moyne de Morgue<sup>21</sup>, which participated in expeditions in 1563 and 1565, was also questioned. directed by René Goulaine de Laudonnière.

Talented artist Theodore Morris<sup>22</sup> and anthropologist-illustrator M. R. Clark<sup>23</sup>, together with curators D. Milanich and V. Marquardt from Florida Museum of Natural History created believable images of natives of the disappeared tribes of Florida

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Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.

<sup>19</sup> Wallerick G. Un acteur de la legende noire: Theodore De Bry: [дис. ...д-ра ист. наук]; l'université Charles de Gaulle. Wallerick G. Un acteur de la legende noire: Theodore De Bry. Lille, 2010. P. 201.

<sup>20</sup> Settlement of Florida / Bennett Charles E. (comp.); Le Moyne de Morgues Jacques. Gainesville, 1968. P. 253.

<sup>21</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 290.; Ashrafyan K. E., Beznosov M., «Silver Age of Piracy» as a Tool of the Geopolitical Struggle in the Sixteenth Century and Its Interpretation Today: the denigration of the Enemy – Country and the Strategy of «Demonizing» the Enemy // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. 2021. № 2. С. 125-138.

<sup>22</sup> Morris T. Florida's Lost Tribes / with commentary by Jerald T. Milanich. Gainesville, 2004. P. 70.

<sup>23</sup> Pineland during the Spanish Period. A Mechanical Waterbird Mask from Pineland and the Calusa Masking Tradition // The Archaeology of Pineland: A Coastal Southwest Florida Site Complex, ca. A.D. 50-1710 / ed. by W. H. Marquardt and K. J. Walker. Gainesville, 2013. P. 1-22.

in the 16th century<sup>24, 25</sup>.

Michael Francis of the Anthropology Department of the American Museum and Professor of History at the University of North Florida and South Florida in St. Petersburg made a great contribution to changing views on the Indian rebellion at the end of the 16th century. In the book "Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Rebellion of 1597, 2011"<sup>26</sup>, the scholar, along with his students, investigated the murder of Franciscan friars. 500 years after the events, this work revealed the true causes of the rebellion, showing how the local Indians used the Spanish administration to achieve their goals of seizing power.

An important scientific work on which the research in this paper is based is the work of Dr. David Arbesú, a professor at the University of South Florida in Tampa (University of South Florida), where he teaches a course in the history of Spain in the Middle Ages. The book talks about the Christianization of Florida and its mistakes, about the struggle for Florida between Spain and France. This work is based on the manuscript of the chronicler Gonzalo Solis de Meras, who witnessed the development of Florida from 1565.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript marks an important milestone in the study of Spanish Florida. Based on the original chronicles and other

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<sup>24</sup> South Florida Archaeology & Ethnography. The Calusa Domain. URL: <https://www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/sflarch/research/calusa-domain/> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021)

<sup>25</sup> Clark M.R., Marquardt W.H. The Archaeology of Pineland: A Coastal Southwest Florida Site Complex, A.D. 50-1710. Gainesville, 2012. P. 944.

<sup>26</sup> Francis J. M. Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597. New York, 2011. P. 154.

documents, the true events that accompanied the expulsion of the French from Spanish Florida in 1565, as well as the life and life of various tribes of southern Florida in the process of their Christianization, were described.

The important scholarly work on which the research in this article is based is that of David Arbesú, a professor at the University of South Florida at Tampa (University of South Florida), where he teaches a course in the history of medieval Spain. The book talks about the Christianization of Florida and its mistakes, about the struggle for Florida between Spain and France. This work is based on a manuscript by the chronicler Gonzalo Solis de Meras, who has been a witness to this process in Florida since 1565.

«Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript»<sup>27</sup> marks an important milestone in the study of Spanish Florida. Based on the original chronicles and other documents, the true events that accompanied the expulsion of the French from Spanish Florida in 1565, as well as the life and life of various tribes of southern Florida in the process of their Christianization, were described.

Dr. John E. Worth<sup>28</sup> from the Department of Anthropology and Archeology of the University of West Florida (University of

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<sup>27</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 431.

<sup>28</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.

West Florida) in numerous works considered the relationship of the Calusa Indians and the Spaniards in the initial period of the Spanish invasion. The scientist demonstrated the links between the Indians of Florida and Cuba<sup>29</sup>, which affected the resistance to the Spanish settlers and the rejection of Christianization in southern Florida. He also studied the relationship between the Timucua tribe and the Spaniards in the context of the spread of the Catholic faith. This made it possible to compare the interpenetration of cultures in different parts of Florida.

Excavations in Florida led to the discovery and study of traces of Christian missions, described in the writings of D. Hann<sup>30</sup>, D. Wood<sup>31</sup>, M. Gannon<sup>32</sup> and D. D. Weber<sup>33</sup>.

H. Hadjo's article<sup>34</sup> about the Calusa Indians and their attitude to Christianization in terms of comparing the dogmas of the Catholic faith with the original religious views of the Indians caused a wide controversy. In his work, it was noted that the Calusa stood out sharply from other tribes in appearance and accumulated knowledge.

<sup>29</sup> Worth J. E. A History of Southeastern Indians in Cuba, 1513-1823. URL: <https://stjohnsriverecotours.com/index.php/books/1-a-history-of-southeastern-indians-in-cuba-1513-1823/file> (дата обращения: 26.11.2021); Thompson V. D., Worth J. E. Political Ecology and the Event: Calusa Social Action in Early Colonial Entanglements// Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association. 2018. Vol. 29, № 1. P. 68-82.

<sup>30</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa. Gainesville, 1991. P. 460; Он же. A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions. Gainesville, 1996. P. 400.

<sup>31</sup> Wood J. M. A History of the Catholic Church in the American South 1513-1900. Gainesville, 2011. P. 498.

<sup>32</sup> Gannon M. The cross in the sand: the early Catholic Church in Florida. 1513-1870. Gainesville, 1965. XV, P. 210.

<sup>33</sup> Weber D. J. The Spanish frontier in North America. Yale University Press, 1992. P. 579.

<sup>34</sup> Hadjo H. The Calusa: A Savage Kingdom. 2016. URL: <https://nomennescio.espiblogs.net/files/2016/11/The-Calusa-A-Savage-Kingdom.pdf> (дата обращения: 22.11.2021)

Douglas Peck made a great contribution to the established paths of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513, who carried out an expedition that changed the idea of the place where Florida was discovered<sup>35</sup>.

It is necessary to highlight the Quarterly magazine "History of Florida"<sup>36</sup> which since the last century has constantly covered research and archaeological excavations in Florida.

In 2013, Paul W. and Nancy W. Merrill, which were two professors of Louisiana State University, writing under the pseudonym Hoffman, published an article on 16th-century Florida historiography<sup>37</sup>. This work updated and supplemented the previous bibliography from James A. Servies and Lana D. Servies, written in 1993<sup>38</sup>. This scholarly work reveals many important sources that have guided researchers on the path to understanding the true historical picture that developed around Florida in the 16th century. Of interest are their publications on the interaction of European and American cultures of the 16th-17th centuries<sup>39</sup>.

Необходимо выделить и диссертацию Аманды Д. Шнайдер (Amanda J. Snyder) из Международного Университета Флориды, которая подробно сравнивает

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<sup>35</sup> Peck, D. T. Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery Voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon. // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1992. Vol. 71, № 2. P. 133-154; Peck D. T. Ponce de León and the discovery of Florida: the man, the myth, and the truth. Saint Paul, 1993. P. 87.

<sup>36</sup> The Florida Historical Quarterly. URL: <https://myfloridahistory.org/quarterly>

<sup>37</sup> Hoffman P.E. The Historiography of Sixteenth Century La Florida // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 2013. Vol. 91, № 3. C. 308-348.

<sup>38</sup> Servies J.A. A bibliography of Florida. Vol. 1. 1507-1845. Pensacola, 1993. P. 424.

<sup>39</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery: Pedro de Salazar's Visit to the «Island of Giants» // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1980. Vol. 58, № 4. P. 422.

литературу по историографии о Хуане Понсе де Леоне и об «Источнике Молодости» в работе «Взгляды ученых и писателей на личность Хуана Понсе де Леона. Два века работы»» («Scholars' and Storytellers' Visions of Juan Ponce de León. Two Centuries of Work»).

We should be highlighted the dissertation by Amanda J. Snyder from Florida International University, which compares in detail the literature on the historiography about Juan Ponce de León and myth of the Fountain of Youth, under "Visions of scientists and storytellers about Juan Ponce de Leon. Two centuries of work"<sup>40</sup>.

### **Russian historiography**

**As for Russian historiography**, it should be underlined that in this thesis is raised and outlined, for the first time in Russian science, the topic of the disappeared tribes of southern Florida and their opposition to Spanish colonization. We can note that the "pre-Seminole" period in the history of Florida was hardly considered by either Soviet or Russian historians and ethnographers. The exception is the publication of Yu. G. Akimov<sup>41</sup>, in which he described the first contacts of the Spaniards with the natives of southern Florida based on the publications of the enthusiastic explorer Douglas Peck, who changed the data on the discovery of Florida and the landing site of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513.

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<sup>40</sup> Snyder A.J. «Scholars' and Storytellers' Visions of Juan Ponce de Leon: Two Centuries of Work» in The Voyages of Ponce de Leon: Scholarly Perspectives. Cocoa, 2013. P. 1-8.

<sup>41</sup> Акимов, Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды и начало испанской экспансии в юго-восточной части Североамериканского континента в 1510-е годы. СПб : ИЛА РАН. 2013. С. 58-69.

The theme of Christianization and contradictions within the Spanish society in the West Indies in the domestic scientific literature is presented in the works of such Soviet scientists as Iosif Romualdovich Grigulevich (1913-1988)<sup>42</sup>, Iosif Petrovich (1889-1975) and Vadim Iosifovich Magidovich (1928- 2010) <sup>43</sup>, Svetlana Alekseevna Sozina (1936-2016)<sup>44</sup>, which published translations into Russian of many documents of the 15th-18th centuries. These researchers have made a great contribution to the highlighted of the processes of Christianization of the natives of America and the politics of the Vatican, including the activities of the Orders of the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans, who preached the Gospel among the indigenous population of America.

Of the many books and articles by these authors, it is worth noting the monograph entitled "The Cross and the Sword" («Крест и Меч»)<sup>45</sup>, as well as the scientific work "Bartolome Las Casas" («Бартоломе Лас Касас»), published under the editorship of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Grigulevich<sup>46</sup>. These works are based on archival documents, literature and works by foreign authors about the

<sup>42</sup> Григулевич, И. Бартоломе де Лас Касас: к истории завоевания Америки: [сборник статей] / Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва: Наука, 1966. 231 с.; Он же. Крест и меч. Католическая церковь в Испанской Америке, XVI-XVIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1977. 296 с.

<sup>43</sup> Магидович, В. И., Магидович И. П. Очерки по истории географических открытий. [В 5 томах]. [Т.] 2. Великие географические открытия (конец XV – середина XVII в.). Москва: Просвещение, 1983. 399 с.; Магидович, И. П. История открытия и исследования Северной Америки / И. П. Магидович. Москва: Географгиз, 1962. – 476 с. – (Открытие Земли).

<sup>44</sup> История Латинской Америки. Доколумбова эпоха – 70-е годы XIX века. Москва: Наука, 1991. 520 с.

<sup>45</sup> Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч... С. 295.

<sup>46</sup> Он же. Бартоломе де Лас-Касас... С. 228.



discoveries of the New World. Grigulevich I.R. was outstanding scientist who knows Latin America well, scientist who made a great scientific and organizational contribution to Soviet science. His works were based on a deep knowledge of the Catholic Church and the institution of the Papacy. But the author's conclusions about the Christianization of Indians were colored ideologically – in accordance with the requirements of the era.

A new interpretation of the historical and cultural essence and results of the Spanish colonization of the New World was proposed in the five-volume work of IMLI RAS "History of Latin American Literatures" edited by V. B. Zemskov<sup>47</sup>. Andrey Fedorovich Kofman presented in his works the reconstruction of the personality type of the conquistadors, including Juan Ponce de Leon, and the analysis of their actions on colonization of new lands<sup>48</sup>. For his work, he was awarded the Spanish King's award. His books show the processes from a different angle of development of newly discovered lands, including Spanish Florida and his view is not typical for most works. These books such as «Америка несбывшихся чудес» ("America of Unfulfilled Miracles")<sup>49</sup>, «Конкистадоры. Три хроники завоевания Америки» ("The Conquistadors. Three Chronicles of the Conquest of America")<sup>50</sup>, «Рыцари Нового Света» ("Knights of

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<sup>47</sup> История литератур Латинской Америки. М., 1985–2004. Кн. 1: От древнейших времен до начала Войны за независимость / Отв. ред. Земсков В.Б. 1985.

<sup>48</sup> Кофман, А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург: Крига, 2017. 1030 с.; Кофман, А. Ф. Испанский конкистадор. От текста к реконструкции типа личности. Москва.: ИМЛИ РАН, 2012. 304 с.

<sup>49</sup> Он же. Америка несбывшихся чудес. Москва, 2001. С. 347.

<sup>50</sup> Он же. Конкистадоры: три хроники завоевания Америки. пер. с исп. Андрея Кофмана и Евгений Лысенко. Москва, 2009. С. 606.

the New World")<sup>51</sup>. These books contain important translations of documents from Spanish archives. In 2012, A.F. Kofman published a scientific monograph "The Spanish Conquistador: from the text to the reconstruction of the personality type"<sup>52</sup>.

The work of A.V. Kalyuta was devoted to the study of the formation of the personality of the conquistadors <sup>53</sup>.

A deep analysis of the problems of repartimiento and encomienda was carried out by Dr. of Historical Sciences E.G. Alexandrenkov<sup>54</sup>. He highlighted the consequences of the introduction of the encomienda on the life of the Indians of the Antilles in the XV-XVI centuries. His works are based on previously unpublished archival materials. In addition, the translation into Russian of many Spanish primary sources made it possible to comprehensively consider the problems of the encomienda, which pushed the Spaniards to discover new lands in America.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that without an analysis of external and internal circumstances, it is difficult to understand why the south of the Florida peninsula, so strategically important for Spain, was not mastered by the Spaniards from 1513 to 1525. The answer to this question is the presented dissertation research, which offers interpretations of

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<sup>51</sup> Он же. Рыцари Нового Света. Москва, 2006. С. 266.

<sup>52</sup> Он же. Испанский конкистадор. От текста к реконструкции типа личности. Москва, 2012. С. 304.

<sup>53</sup> Калюта, А. В. Духовный мир испанских конкистадоров в свете письменных источников XVI в. / А. В. Калюта // Этнографическое обозрение. 2021. № 3. С. 15-29.

<sup>54</sup> Александренков, Э. Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: Конец XV – середина XVI века. Бельцы: Parmarium Academic Publishing, 2017. 508 с.

the most important reasons for the failure in the development of South Florida by Spain.

### ***The purpose of the study***

The purpose of the study is to comprehensively identify the internal and external processes that took place in the New World and Europe and influenced the failures of colonization of Florida by Spain in the first quarter of the XVI century.

In accordance with the set **goal**, the following **tasks** were defined:

1. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of the interrelationships of events that took place in different parts of the world, and to study the methods and features of attempts to develop Florida by the Spaniards in 1513-1525 based on museum exhibits, archival materials and scientific publications in different countries (Spain, USA, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico).

2. On the basis of archival documents and modern scientific works, to identify the reasons for the confrontation between the crown of Castile and Christopher of Colombia, and later his heirs ("Houses of Colombia") in the process of colonization of Florida.

3. To find the causes and identify the features of the processes and methods of successful counteraction of the Indians of South Florida to the Spanish colonization by studying archival materials and artifacts of Indian culture presented in museums.

4. To find out the reasons for the rapid spread of illegal trade and piracy as a result of the penetration of France into the West Indies and establish a connection between events and changes in the boundaries of Spanish Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century. based on archival materials about the

expeditions of Spain and France, as well as maps that existed in the proposed period.

5. To determine the consequences of the discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513 for navigation and subsequent expeditions in the first quarter of the 16th century.

6. To identify patterns of colonization failure in the development of southern Florida by the Spaniards based on the analysis of interrelated events in different parts of the world: in the kingdoms of Spain, the West Indies and in the south of the Florida peninsula.

### **Research sources.**

The basis of the study are a variety of sources from different countries that form the basis of this dissertation research.

The main resources were the following archives open for public viewing: Vatican Archive <sup>55</sup>, archives of Europe <sup>56</sup>, Archives of Spain <sup>57</sup>, Archives of Paris <sup>58</sup>.

In this work, Internet platforms that publish scientific publications on different platforms were also used: Project Gutenberg <sup>59</sup>; digital library JSTOR <sup>60</sup>; social network for collaboration between scientists Academia.edu<sup>61</sup>; the project The New World<sup>62</sup>; the largest academic social network

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<sup>55</sup> <http://www.archivioapostolicovaticano.va/content/aav/en/ricerca.html> ;

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.archivesportaleurope.net/es/search/-/s/n>

<sup>57</sup> <http://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/>

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.gutenberg.org>

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.jstor.org>

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.academia.edu>

<sup>62</sup> <http://thenewworld.us>

ResearchGate<sup>63</sup>; free internet archive<sup>64</sup>; the project of the academic and scientific community MUSE<sup>65</sup>.

The following bases of scientific publications were used in the work: Russian State Library<sup>66</sup>, e-library КиберЛенинка<sup>67</sup>, e-library eLIBRARY<sup>68</sup>, electronic Encyclopedia Britannica<sup>69</sup>, Spanish e-library<sup>70</sup>, The Library of Congress<sup>71</sup>; Specifically for this dissertation research, work permits were obtained and granted from the following institutions: library of the University of South Florida<sup>72</sup>; library of the University of Florida<sup>73</sup>; library of the Catholic University of St. Leo in Florida<sup>74</sup>.

**The sources necessary for the reconstruction** of events, on which the analysis of the historical events of the first quarter of the 16th century in the region is based, can be divided into **two groups**: written and archaeological.

### **Written sources.**

Most of the documentary written sources for this work come from the resources of the General Archives of India in Seville. (AGI – Archivo General de las Indias), This became possible after their mass digitization. The basis for the work was written evidence left by the Spaniards.

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.researchgate.net/>

<sup>64</sup> <https://openlibrary.org/>

<sup>65</sup> <https://muse.jhu.edu/>

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.rsl.ru/>

<sup>67</sup> <https://cyberleninka.ru/>

<sup>68</sup> <https://elibrary.ru/>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.britannica.com>

<sup>70</sup> <https://www.biblioteca.org.ar>

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.loc.gov>

<sup>72</sup> Libraries University of South Florida. URL: <https://lib.usf.edu/>

<sup>73</sup> George A. Smathers Libraries University of Florida. URL: **Ошибка! Недопустимый объект гиперссылки.**

<sup>74</sup> Библиотека Кэннон Мемориал. URL: [https://slulibrary.saintleo.edu/library\\_home](https://slulibrary.saintleo.edu/library_home)

The main narrative written sources include the memoirs of the Spaniard Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda (See Appendix No. 2.1)<sup>75</sup>. Fontaneda was held captive by the Indians of south Florida for 17 years (from 1549 to 1566) after a shipwreck. The memoirs of the Spaniard Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca also contain very important information about life among the various Indian tribes of Spanish Florida<sup>76</sup>. Descriptions of the life of the natives living on the territory of Tampa Bay can be found in the nameless Portuguese, who called himself "the caballero from Elvas" and participated in the expedition of Hernando de Soto. The path of this expedition ran through several modern states of the United States. In addition to describing the life of the Indians, the writings of the Portuguese talk about the Spaniard Juan Ortiz from the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez, who spent 11 years in captivity with the Indians - from 1528 to 1539<sup>77</sup>.

The same block of works also includes the narration of the chronicler Solis de Meras<sup>78</sup>, who was in the service of Florida Governor Menendez.

These sources make it possible to learn the features of life, beliefs, technical achievements, and hierarchy among different

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<sup>75</sup> AGI. [Documento PATRONATO, 19, R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla.

<sup>76</sup> Кабеса де Вака Нуньес А. Кораблекрушения / пер. с исп., предисл. и коммент. Ю. В. Ванникова. Москва, 1975. С. 128.

<sup>77</sup> Hakluyt R. The discovery and conquest of Terra Florida by Don Ferdinando de Soto and six hundred Spaniards his followers, written by a gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. Reprinted from the edition of 1611, edited with notes and an introduction, and a translation of a narrative of the expedition by Luis Hernandez de Biedma / Richard Hakluyt, Luis Hernandez de Biedma, William B Rye. London, 1851. P. 281.

<sup>78</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 431.

tribes of the natives of southern Florida, including the Calusa tribe, which became the hegemon of southern Florida and managed to maintain its independence throughout the 16th-18th centuries.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, the Spaniards captured by the Indians were forced to observe customs alien to them, adhering to the elementary norms of behavior adopted by the locals. To understand the peculiarities of Indian culture, it became important that the captured Spaniards had to learn the languages of the native inhabitants of Florida.

Narrative written sources include testimonies of participants in direct contacts and clashes with the Indians of southern Florida. In particular, the memoirs of Bernal Diaz Del Castillo are used in the work<sup>80</sup>. He fought against the Florida Coast Indians and described their weapons, equipment, tactics, appearance, and other details. However, it must be borne in mind that Castillo initially wrote his track record, which gradually turned into a historical chronicle. He relied not only on memory, but also on the work of other authors such as Francisco López de Gomara.

Many of the primary sources were published shortly after their creation, but most of them were published only in the 19th century, when they were published in 42 volumes in Madrid under the title "Collection of unpublished documents concerning the discovery, conquest and colonization of Spanish possessions in America and Oceania", taken from the archives of the kingdom

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<sup>79</sup> Worth J. E. Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida // *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. 1995. T. 73, № 3. P. 339-352.

<sup>80</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании = *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* / [сост., новый пер. с исп., коммент., оформление: А. Захарьян. Москва, 2000. С. 399.

and especially from India, 1864-1884. (CDI - Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía : sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias 1864-1884)<sup>81</sup>.

Among the narrative documents, it is necessary to include the logbook of Christopher Columbus, his letters, and messages from Columbus's associates to the "Catholic Kings", as well as reports to the Council of the Indies<sup>82</sup>, which tells about the expedition itself and the relationship between the settlers, the life of the Indians, their appearance, habits and way of life, about nature in the territories of the West Indies.

Narrative primary sources also include directive sources, which contain data on the intentions that the Spaniards were going to carry out in the lands of the West Indies and Florida. These include orders of the king, decrees, agreements, treaties, letters and reports of royal officials and representatives of municipal authorities on the situation in the New World (see Appendix No. 2.2. - 2.18)<sup>83</sup>. This is, for example, the decree on the creation of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, (see Appendix No. 2.11)<sup>84</sup>, order to Diego Columbus to receive the Dominicans

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<sup>81</sup> CDI - Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía: sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias: T. 1-42/ Bajo la dirección de los Sres. D. Joaquín F. Pacheco y D. Francisco de Cárdenas y D. Luis Torres de Mendoza ; Archivo General de Indias. Madrid, 1864—1884.

<sup>82</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники, письма, документы / пер. и коммент. Я.М. Света. Москва, 2008. С. 509.

<sup>83</sup> AGI. [Documento] 419, L.5, F.252V-253V: Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>84</sup> AGI. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26: Audiencia de Santo Domingo. [Fecha de creación] 1582, Santo Domingo.



(see Appendix No. 2.16)<sup>85</sup>, contract (see Appendix No. 2.12)<sup>86</sup>, letters to royal officials (see Appendix No. 2.14)<sup>87</sup>.

Narrative protocol sources include records and orders for the distribution of Indians (see Appendix No. 2.9) and court decisions (see appendix No. 2.14), such as the cases of the "House of Columbus" against the Spanish Crown — "The Claims of Columbus" (es. - "Pleitos Colombinos")<sup>88</sup>, which contain information about the confrontation in the distribution of cash flows, administration, and policy towards the aborigines of the New World.

The normative documents also include notes of officials, monks, reports of bishops, private letters from the West Indies to Spain (relaciones, memorials, cartas), which reflect the goals of the Christianization of the Aborigines, information about the Indians, expeditions, and the struggle between the Spaniards in the West Indies.

Church sources were important, among which we can single out the bulls of Pope Alexander VI dated May 3, 4 and September 26, 1493.<sup>89</sup> They became the basis for declaring the new

<sup>85</sup> AGI. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,L.4,F.23R(1): Orden a Diego Colón. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514.

<sup>86</sup> AGI. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15: Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas. [Fecha de creación] 1521, Santo Domingo.

<sup>87</sup> AGI. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V: Justicia sobre los bienes del adelantado Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 07 de marzo 1523, Valladolid.

<sup>88</sup> Colón de Carvajal, A. La herencia de Cristóbal Colón Estudio y colección documental de los mal llamados pleitos colombinos (1492-1541) / A. Colón de Carvajal, J. M. Pérez-Prendes. Madrid, 2016. P. 2857.; Pleitos colombinos. Probanzas del Almirante de las Indias (1512-1515). T. III. Publicación conmemorativa del V centenario del descubrimiento de América / Antonio Muro Orejón, Florentino Pérez-Embid, José Llavador Mira [et al]. Sevilla, 1984. P. 458

<sup>89</sup> Colección de Bulas, Breves Y Otros Documentos Relativos a La Iglesia de América Y Filipinas. American Theological Library Association, 1879. P.

territories discovered by Columbus the property of the Crown of Castile. The bulls outlined the main condition for land ownership – the Christianization of the local population.

Important documents include the reports of Diego Columbus and the royal treasurer Pasamonte, which they compiled after the accusatory sermons of the Dominican friar Antonio de Montesinos that took place on the island of Hispaniola in 1511<sup>90</sup>. These speeches directly condemned the rule of Diego Columbus and the encomienda system. These events were followed by the meetings of the Burgos Junta in 1512 and the Valladolid Junta in 1513, created from among the authoritative clergy and members of the Royal Council. Following the results of the meetings, the "Laws of Burgos" were drawn up<sup>91</sup> and the "Laws of Valladolid"<sup>92</sup> 1512–1513 гг., and

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989.; Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//MP-BULAS\_BREVES,1. Breve Inter Caetera [Fecha de creación] 1493-05-03, Roma.; AGI. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//MP-BULAS\_BREVES,2. Breve Inter Caetera [Fecha de creación] 1493-09-26, Roma

<sup>90</sup> Montesinos F. Homila en la Catedral de Santo Domingo. 1511. Colección de documentos literarios del Peru. URL: <http://www.archive.org/details/segundaparte00ciezrich>; Ашрафьян К. Э. От энкомьенды Николаса Овандо до Бургосских Законов (1503–1512 гг.). Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 6. С. 1–10.

<sup>91</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий: [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471.; Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 508.; Бургосские законы. Завоевание Новой Испании URL: <https://vedomosti17.ru/dokumenty/17-burgosskie-zakony>; Ашрафьян К. Э. Бургосские Законы 1512 как прародители «прав челов.»: обстоятельства и необходимость их принятия и последствия (1512 г.) // Гуманитарный научный Вестник. 2021. № 5. С. 14–21.

<sup>92</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Хунта и законы Вальядолида 1513 г. как продолжение законов Бургоса 1512 г. European Scientific Conference: сборник статей XXVII Международной научно-практической конференции, Пенза, 7 апреля 2021. Пенза, 2021. С. 66–72.

also the "Indian Act", or "Requirements for Indians" of July 28, 1513. («Requerimiento a los Indios» 28 Julio 1513)<sup>93</sup>.

The books of Bartolome de Las Casas<sup>94</sup> are distinguished by a personal position reflecting political affiliation to a certain side of the conflict, but these books help to understand both the origins and the course of the conflict, which led to the adoption of the aforementioned laws that changed the general policy of the conquest for many years to come.

It is important to use the works of Pedro Martin de Angleria, who is the author of the work "Decades of the New World"<sup>95</sup>, here he described the "Fountain of Youth", considering Florida to be the location of the legendary object (see Appendix No. 1.31). Angleria was the first official chronicler of India to the Spanish court and therefore had direct access to documents and informants.

It is also necessary to include in the list of sources the work of Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés (Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés)<sup>96</sup>, who was also the official chronicler of the West Indies, and spent many years in Hispaniola, beginning in 1532.

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<sup>93</sup> «Indios. 28 julio 1513»: сохранить прошлое для понимания будущего. Наука и образование: сохраняя прошлое, создаем будущее: сборник статей XXXVI Международной научно-практической конференции. Пенза, 30 ноября 2021. Пенза, 2021. С. 68–73

<sup>94</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индии: [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471.; Bry T. D., Casas B. d., Winghe I. Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuastatarum verissima. Francofurti. 1598, T. IV. P. 40.; Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч: католическая церковь в Исп. Америке, XVI–XVIII вв. Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва, 1977. С. 295.

<sup>95</sup> MacNutt F. A. De Orbe Novo: Vol. 1 (of 2) / Pietro Martire d' Anghiera; trans. by Francis Augustus MacNutt. Salt Lake City, 2004. P. 229.

<sup>96</sup> Oviedo y Valdez G. F. Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar océano. Vol. 2. Madrid, 1853. P. 651.

Informative were the letters of Juan Ponce de Leon to the Cardinal of the Spanish city of Tortosa, Adrian of Utrecht (the future Pope Adrian VI), who was the regent of the young emperor, and the messages to Charles V himself, written before sailing (February 10, 1521) on the second expedition with the aim of settling Florida. These letters explain the reasons why the peninsula was not inhabited by the Spaniards from 1513 to 1521 (see Appendix No. 2.13).<sup>97</sup>.

Documentary sources are indispensable for understanding the political balance of power between the opposing sides - Spain as a metropolis and local administration in the West Indies for administrative power and financial flows. It was these circumstances that influenced the colonization of Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

From written sources, you can acquire knowledge about the daily life of both the Spanish settlers and the natives of southern Florida: the religious component, military organization, nutritional habits, and much more. The memoir records describe the main settlement of the leader of the Calusa tribe, Carlos (or Kalos), who in Spanish sources was called the "King of the Calusa tribe" (in the future, we will also adhere to this terminology - *K.A.*). This settlement was located near the present site of Mound Key in Estero Bay, southwest Florida, USA<sup>98</sup> (see Appendix 1.2.). The island had a shallow grassy estuary with

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<sup>97</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,176,R.9: Juan Ponce de León: descubrimiento de la Florida y otras islas [Fecha de creación] 10 de febrero 1521.

<sup>98</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.

extraordinary year-round productivity. It was there that archaeologists have pointed to evidence of Aboriginal habitation as early as the beginning of 500 AD. e. Until now, many place names in southern Florida reflect the names in the language of the disappeared Calusa people, who did not have their own written language. For example, the name of the city "Tampa" in translation from the Calusa language means "fire sticks". The Caloosahatchee River is also associated with the old history of this tribe.

Scientific articles and books, monographs and dissertations were an important addition to written sources and contributed to more thorough research in the field of the history of attempts to colonize Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century. After the publication of the works of G. Bolton<sup>99</sup> John Lanning<sup>100</sup>, declaring the importance of the heritage of the Spanish cultural component. American scholars have raised the issue of the Spanish contribution to US history, and today there are a large number of documents translated into English from the General Archives of the Indies, as well as scientific works by American scholars studying the culture of the disappeared tribes of the Florida peninsula.

In this work, we used the works of researchers who described the evolution of Indian societies in southern Florida, including the Calusa Indian society in the process of its development until the 16th century, and their relationship. These are works of R. J. Widmer.<sup>101</sup>, J.T. Milanich, William Marquardt<sup>102</sup>,

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<sup>99</sup> Bolton H. E. Coronado on the Turquoise Trail: Knight of Pueblos and Plains. Albuquerque, 1949. P. 49.

<sup>100</sup> Lanning J. T. The Spanish missions of Georgia. Chapel Hill, 1935. P. 291.

J. E. Worth<sup>103</sup>, Merald Clark<sup>104</sup>, V.D. Thompson<sup>105</sup>, P. Hoffman<sup>106</sup>, F. A. Ober<sup>107</sup> и S. Turner<sup>108</sup>.

### **Archaeological sources.**

It can be stated that archaeological excavations have affected the study area only since the end of the 19th century. The Calusa tribe rose from oblivion after the discovery in 1883 of an important archaeological site - Key Marco, which was discovered near the city of Naples in Florida by Simmons.

Then, in 1890, Frank Johnson excavated several burial mounds at Mound Key. In 1896, archaeologists Wilkinson, Danford and Frank Gushing<sup>109</sup> discovered a system of abandoned canals between huge shell mounds. Excavations have revealed thousands of wooden artifacts related to the tribes that lived here earlier. From that moment, the process of returning to the

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<sup>101</sup> Widmer R. J. The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast. Tuscaloosa, 1988. P. 334.

<sup>102</sup> Marquardt W. Hunters and Gatherers. London, 1987. Vol. 1. P. 252.; Он же. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.

<sup>103</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, Fla., 2016. P. 43-86.

<sup>104</sup> Clark M.R., Marquardt W.H. The Archaeology of Pineland: A Coastal Southwest Florida Site Complex, A.D. 50-1710. Gainesville, 2012. P. 944.

<sup>105</sup> Thompson V. D., Worth J. E. Political Ecology and the Event: Calusa Social Action in Early Colonial Entanglements // Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association. 2018. Vol. 29, № 1. P. 68-82.

<sup>106</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery: Pedro de Salazar's Visit to the «Island of Giants» // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1980. Vol. 58, № 4. P. 415-426.; Он же. The Historiography of Sixteenth Century La Florida // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 2013. Vol. 91, № 3. C. 308-348.

<sup>107</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon. New York, 1908. P. 287.

<sup>108</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce... P. 1-31.

<sup>109</sup> Cushing F. H. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers' Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. XVII, 329-448 p. (Antiquities of the New World; vol. 13) / Repr. of the 1896. New York, 1973.

history of the Calusa people began, which was described in the works of R.D. Widmer<sup>110</sup> and A.L. Snapp<sup>111</sup>.

Artifacts from major collections are on display at the Florida Museum of Natural History near the University of Florida at Gainesville, in the State Department's Office of Historical Resources and in Archaeological Research in Tallahassee, Florida, and many other private and public museums in Florida. These are, for example, museums and protected areas of the national parks Calusa Heritage Trail, Calusa Nature Center & Planetarium, De Soto Memorial Park, The Bishop Museum of Science and Nature, Tampa Bay History Center and others. Museum exhibitions and reconstruction allow you to assess the level of development of various Indian societies in southern Florida.

### **The methodological basis**

The methodological basis of the study is the regulatory requirements set forth in the lectures of N.A. Yasnitsky and in the work of N.I. Smolensky<sup>112</sup>. These includes the principles:

- 1) historicism;
- 2) objectivity;
- 3) consistency.

The dissertation work uses the principle of historicism, which involves the study of the issue in time - in the field of

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<sup>110</sup> Widmer R. J. The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast. Tuscaloosa, 1988. P. 334.

<sup>111</sup> Snapp A. L. The world of the Calusa: A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford. Oxford, 1999. P. 325.

<sup>112</sup> Смоленский Н. И. Проблемы методологии истории : учеб. пособие для студ. высш. учеб. Заведений. Москва, 2008. С. 272.; Он же. История и логика: проблемы общеисторической теории и природы исторических понятий. М-во образования Московской обл., Москва, 2013. С. 183.

historical events. In order to consistently study the history of the discovery of Florida, the paper examined the change in views on this issue in different periods in the works of a number of scientists who studied this problem.

The general idea of the discovery of Florida has changed as the sciences have become fragmented, a number of areas of knowledge have been identified, and a new methodology has emerged. These were studies based on archival materials, where hermeneutics was mainly a method of obtaining. Over time, views on events around Florida have undergone significant changes due to the high probability of such disciplines as political science, sociology and biological archeology. It is important that this process took place against the backdrop of an explosive accumulation of artifacts during archaeological excavations in the 60-80s of the 20th century.

This dissertation research is compiled on the basis of objectivity, taking into account the analysis of the degree of interest of Spanish officials, including the hierarchs of the Catholic Church. At the same time, the life and experience of the natives were assessed using such subjective factors as the dependence of subordination in the reports of lower-ranking employees or the personal bias of their views on important or other issues.

The memoirs describing the life of the natives under the authorship of Escalante de Fontaneda have the greatest objectivity, because he spent 17 years in captivity with the Indians of Florida and was released in 1566. Fontaneda remained to live in St. Augustine and was the interpreter of Governor Menendez until 1572, and then, returning to Spain, he



wrote a memoir "Memoria de las cosas y costa y Indios de la Florida"<sup>113</sup>.

Also interesting are the stories about the life of Ortiz, who had a similar fate with him, which can be found in the nameless Portuguese ("Caballero from Elvas"), a participant in the campaign of the conquistador De Soto <sup>114</sup>.

The combination of the principles of historicism and objectivity was also used in the study of the issue of the colonization of Florida in the writings of the Dominican monk Las Casas. The negative attitude of this chronicler towards the personality of Juan Ponce de Leon, who discovered Florida, influenced the assessment of events and distorted the actual state of affairs.

The inevitable subjectivism is also present in the works of those authors who belong to different national schools. For example, the French interpretation of the events around Florida<sup>115</sup> differs markedly from the Spanish<sup>116</sup>.

Due to the fact that the disappeared Indian peoples did not leave written evidence, a deep understanding of the ongoing

<sup>113</sup> Worth J. E. Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1995. T. 73, № 3. P. 339-352.; Ашрафьян К. Э. История переводов «Мемуаров» и других текстов Фернандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда: история переводов, комментарии и рисунки к тексту. // Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 8. С. 1—7.

<sup>114</sup> Hakluyt R. The discovery and conquest of Terra Florida by Don Ferdinando de Soto and six hundred Spaniards his followers, written by a gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. Reprinted from the edition of 1611, edited with notes and an introduction, and a translation of a narrative of the expedition by Luis Hernandez de Biedma / Richard Hakluyt, Luis Hernandez de Biedma, William B Rye. London, 1851. P. 281.

<sup>115</sup> Settlement of Florida. Le Moyne de Morgues Jacques. Gainesville, 1968. 253 p.

<sup>116</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 431.

processes is impossible without analyzing the numerous artifacts presented in various museums in Florida (see Appendixes No. 1.20, 1.23, 1.46, 1.48). So, in the collections of museums in the cities of Gainesville, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Bradenton, which are located in the state of Florida, the life and life of various tribes of Florida are quite clearly described and restored (see Appendix No. 1.15 - 1.23, 1.28, 1.32, 1.34 - 1.46).

These artifacts provide insight into the reaction of the Indians to the Spanish invasion of the peninsula in 1513. This block of facts made it possible to determine the attitude of the natives towards the Spaniards as undesirable aliens from another world, which was alien in its culture and beliefs to the population of the south of the peninsula.

The application of the system principle made it possible to build a logical interconnected chain of disparate events, including: the history of the failure of the colonization of Florida, the struggle of the opposing sides of the Spanish society for financial flows from the New World, France's support for piracy and illegal trade in the New World, the migration of Indians from the Antilles and the Bahamas, and the successful Native Florida opposition to Spanish colonization.

Although the value principle is debatable, its application is expedient due to the objective necessity associated with obtaining both scientific and value information about the object under study. Accordingly, the very moment of the discovery of Florida is considered an important fact in the series of events of the past. In the dissertation work, valuable in the light of today, little-known data about the existence of an alliance of various tribes in the south of Florida, led by the Calusa Indians, who

isolated themselves from the outside world in 1513 (so isolated was for 250 years - from the 16th to the 18th centuries). Since the subject of the dissertation research is the past of human society (in this case, the moment of the discovery of Florida), the work necessarily included an analysis of the various opinions of scientists and chroniclers on the subject of research. The attitude of the authors could depend on their personal preferences and judgments in relation to the event itself and the personalities involved in it.

Taking into account the changes in the system of priorities of Spanish policy in the New World in the first quarter of the 16th century, **the comparative historical method** was also used, which prevents the "modernization of events", attributing them to the assessments of the corresponding eras. Studying the memoirs of eyewitnesses of the events, as well as the works of chroniclers of the 16th century and archival documents, forces us to adhere to the **principle of a critical analysis** of historical sources and events. The paper solves a problem of a **methodological nature**, covering the cartographic boundaries of the study: how to call the Spanish Florida "de jure" and "de facto" in the first quarter of the 16th century?

### **Scientific novelty of the research.**

1. For the first time, a comprehensive analysis and interconnection of such processes as the confrontation between the Spanish crown and the "House of Columbus", the development of the encomienda in the West Indies, the migration of the population of the Antilles, the development of illegal trade and piracy in the Caribbean, the events of the transitional period

of power in Spain from 1516 to 1519 and the failure of attempts to develop Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

2. For the first time, when considering these problems, an analysis was made of the reasons for the confrontation between the Spanish crown and the "House of Columbus", which dealt with such issues as:

- the legal status of the Conquista after the introduction of the "Requirements for the Indians" ("Requerimiento a los Indios"), adopted in Valladolid in 1513<sup>117</sup>;

- legal regulation of relations between the natives and the Spanish encomenderos-settlers, established by the introduction of the "Laws of Burgos-Valladolid" of 1512-1513;

- the need to make up for the lack of "hands" in the encomiendas by capturing natives from the islands adjacent to Hispaniola.

3. The features, conditions and specifics of the lifestyle of the Calusa Indian tribe as the basis for creating a successful anti-Spanish alliance in the south of the Florida peninsula and methods of counteracting Spanish colonization are revealed; the settlements and tribes in the south of the peninsula that existed in the first half of the 16th century are listed by translating archival materials into Russian; maps of their residence were compiled for the first time. Translations into Russian of documents by Hernando de Fontaneda, taken from the Archive of

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<sup>117</sup> Ашрафьян, К. Э. Перевод «требования к индейцам» («Requerimiento a los Indios. 28 julio 1513»): сохранить прошлое для понимания будущего. Наука и образование: сохраняя прошлое, создаём будущее: сборник статей XXXVI Международной научно-практической конференции. Пенза: МЦНС «Наука и Просвещение», 2021.

the Indies<sup>118</sup>, have been introduced into scientific circulation, indicating the names and places of settlement of groups of Indian tribes in southern Florida<sup>119</sup>.. It has been established that the encomienda system, which contributed to the resettlement of Indians from the Antilles to the south of Florida, was an important factor contributing to the rapid penetration of information about the threat of external invasion and the creation of a negative image of the Spaniards among the natives, which contributed to the formation of an anti-Spanish union of tribes.

4. A map of changes in the boundaries of Spanish Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century was compiled based on archival materials and maps of this period.

5. It was revealed that the reason for the rapid growth of illegal trade and piracy of France in the West Indies was the lack of development by Spain of the territory of Spanish Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century.

6. Полученные в работе данные, основанные на анализе событий, происходивших в разных частях света, доказывают, что вокруг Флориды с 1513 по 1525 годы сложились важные объективные и субъективные условия, не позволившие заселить и без того открытые земли. Это позволило построить и сформулировать гипотезу о закономерности

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<sup>118</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento PATRONATO,19,R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla.

<sup>119</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento PATRONATO,19,R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla.

URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121651?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

неудачи в освоении юга Флориды испанцами в первой четверти XVI века.

В отечественной историографии тема испанской колонизации Флориды практически не изучалась, как и история полуострова до прихода испанских конкистадоров. В данной диссертации сформулирована оригинальная гипотеза об объективных и системных закономерностях несостоятельности организации постоянного поселения испанцев в южной Флориде, изучена и создана карта изменения границ испанской Флориды до 1525 г.

In the process of working on the dissertation research, for the first time, translations into Russian of important archival documents or their descriptions from the Main Archives of India were put into circulation, which are presented in the Appendix to the dissertation research (Appendices No. 2.1 - 2.18).

Among other things, translations into Russian of Fontaneda's documents from the Indian Archives were introduced into scientific circulation, indicating the names and places of settlement of Indian tribes in southern Florida.<sup>120</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.1), "The Appointment of Juan Ponce de León as Governor of the Islands of Florida and Bimini. 1514"<sup>121</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.2.), "Notice to the Administration of the West Indies of the Royal Decree on the Appointment of Juan Ponce de León." 1514»<sup>122</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.3.), "Royal decree to the

<sup>120</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento PATRONATO,19,R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla.

<sup>121</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V: Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>122</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.254R Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León

officers of the House of Commerce on the supply of the armada of Juan Ponce de Leon., Signed in the city of Valladolid. 1514"<sup>123</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.4.), "License issued to Juan Ponce de Leon. 1514"<sup>124</sup> (Appendix No. 2.5.), "Agreement between King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Juan Ponce de Leon. 1514"<sup>125</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.6.), Treaty concluded by King Ferdinand II of Aragon with Juan Ponce de León. 1514"<sup>126</sup> (Appendix No. 2.7), "Royal prescription for Ponce de Leon. 1514"(See Appendix No. 2.8.)," Royal Decree for the Distribution of Indians. 1515»<sup>127</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.9), "Instruction to the Hieronymites to deal with Ponce de Leon's complaint against Diego Velázquez. 1517"<sup>128</sup> (see Annex No. 2.10.), "Royal certificate of King Fernando V on the establishment of an audience in Santo Domingo. 1511"<sup>129</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.11) <sup>130</sup>, "Contract concluded by King Ferdinand II

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[Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>123</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.236R-236V Sobre la armada de Juan Ponce de León [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>124</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.245R-245V : Licencia a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>125</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.236R-236V Sobre la armada de Juan Ponce de León [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid. - URL% <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246744?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

<sup>126</sup> .Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 415,L.1,F.15V-16V: Orden a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 22 de octubre 1514, Valbuena.

<sup>127</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] PATRONATO,19,R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla.

<sup>128</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V: Orden a los jerónimos de Indias. [Fecha de creación] 22 de julio 1517, Madrid.

<sup>129</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15: Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas. [Fecha de creación] 1521, Santo\_Domingo.

<sup>130</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15: Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas. [Fecha de creación] 1521, Santo\_Domingo.

of Aragon with Francisco de Garay. 1521"<sup>131</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.12), "Letter from Juan Ponce de Leon to the king about his intention to populate Florida and other islands he discovered. 1521"<sup>132</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.13), "Decree of the King to assist in the execution of a judgment on the property of Juan Ponce de León. 1523"<sup>133</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.14), letter from an unknown author describing the affairs in Florida from 1518 to 1527.<sup>134</sup> (See Annex no. 2.15.), "Royal directive to Diego Columbus regarding Dominicans returning from Spain to Hispaniola. 1512»<sup>135</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.16), "Royal Charter designating Juan Ponce de León Adelantado of Bimini Island. 1512"<sup>136</sup> (See Appendix No. 2.17), "Royal Charter of the agreement made with Juan Ponce de León for the discovery and settlement of the island of Bimini" <sup>137</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.18.A), "Royal Decree on the Treaty concluded with Juan Ponce de Leon for the discovery

<sup>131</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,176,R.9: Juan Ponce de León: descubrimiento de la Florida y otras islas [Fecha de creación] 10 de febrero 1521.

<sup>132</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,176,R.9: Juan Ponce de León: descubrimiento de la Florida y otras islas [Fecha de creación] 10 de febrero 1521.

<sup>133</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V: Justicia sobre los bienes del adelantado Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 07 de marco 1523, Valladolid.

<sup>134</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5, F.252V-253V: Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>135</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419, L.4, F.23R(1): Orden a Diego Colón. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>136</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,418,L3,F.253R-255V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos.

<sup>137</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,415, L.1, F.13R-15V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos.



and settlement of the island of Bimini" (see Appendix No. 2.18.B).

Museum exhibits, archival materials and scientific publications from different countries - Spain, the USA, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, etc. of the 16th century were used in the work.

### **Scientific approbation of the work.**

The materials of this study have been scientifically tested during various conferences at the international, All-Russian and regional levels. In particular, these are reports: 1) «Images of Indians from Spanish Florida in the XVI century. Truth and lies, speculation and facts.» на заседании The Russian-American research NEXUS II Forum, 23 апреля 2021 г.; 2) «Испанская Флорида и ее исчезнувшие индейцы = The Spanish Florida and disappeared tribes: личный опыт рассмотрения вопроса» на заседании Американского семинара, проведенного музеем антропологии и этнографии имени Петра Великого (Кунсткамера), Института этнологии и антропологии имени Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая и Санкт-Петербургского Института истории, Санкт-Петербург, 17 декабря 2020 г.; 3) «История, биоархеология, психология, политология и право: взаимодействие наук при рассмотрении события открытия Флориды в XVI в.» на заседании XIV Конгресса антропологов и этнологов (КАЭР), г. Томск, 07 июля 2021 г.; 4) «Рабство и свобода аборигенов нового света в начале XVI века как последствие политических баталий испанской короны и «дома Колумбов», XXIII Международная научно-практическая конференция «European Scientific Conference», г. Пенза, 7 декабря 2020 г.; 5) «Хунта и законы Вальядолида

1513 г. как продолжение законов Бургоса 1512 г.», XXV Международной научно-практической конференции «European Scientific Conference». Пенза, 7 апреля 2021 г.

**Approbation of the main provisions submitted for defense.**

The materials of the dissertation have passed scientific and public approbation. The author has repeatedly spoken on the topic of research at conferences of the All-Russian and international levels. The results of the work are covered in 22 papers with a total volume of 16.88 pp., including 6 articles published in leading Russian scientific periodicals included in the List of peer-reviewed scientific publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, in publications of research results with a total volume of 5.37 pp. L., in the journal of indexed databases Scopus (one article with a total volume of 0.99 pp. l.) and in five collective monographs, namely:

in the monograph: «Наука, образование, общество в условиях цифровизации» (Глава 8 «Гипотеза о неизбежности провала попыток освоения юга полуострова Флорида с 1513 г. по 1525 г.»); «Актуальные вопросы современной науки и образования» (Глава 11 «Исчезнувшие племена Флориды как актуальный вопрос современной науки и образования: необходимость выхода из забвения знаний об истории американских народов “досеминольской эпохи”»); «Инновации в науке, обществе, образовании» (Глава 17); «Перевод текста “Воспоминаний” (“Memoir”) Эрнандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда на русский язык: рассказ об исчезнувших племенах Флориды, населявшие ее в середине

XVI в.»; «Междисциплинарное взаимодействие в науке на примере рассмотрения открытия и освоения Флориды в XVI веке»; «Наука, инновации, образование: актуальные вопросы и современные аспекты» (Глава 14: «Перевод на русский язык трех булл от 1493 года римского папы Александра VI: буллы №1 «Breve Inter Caetera», буллы №3 «Eximia Devotionis» и буллы №4 «Dudum Siquide»), «Современные проблемы науки и общества» (Глава 12 «Междисциплинарное взаимодействие в науке на примере рассмотрения открытия и освоения Флориды в XVI веке»).

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1. Ашрафьян, К. Э. К вопросу об открытии Флориды в 1513 году // Вестник Московского государственного областного университета. Серия: История и политические науки. – 2020. – № 2. – С. 166–174.
2. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Новый взгляд на восстания аборигенов в Испанской Флориде и Вест-Индии в XVI веке. // Самарский научный вестник. – 2020. – Т. 2, № 31. – С. 158–167.
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5. Ashrafyan, K. E. «Silver Age of Piracy»: French pirates in Atlantic in first third XVI century // Самарский научный вестник. – 2020. – Т. 9, № 4 (33). – С. 232–239.
6. Ashrafyan, K. E. The policy of Catholic Monarchs and Popes in the New World on the Christianization of the population and the policy of local authorities (1492–1513) // Самарский научный вестник. – 2021. – Т. 10, № 1. – С. 230–236.

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10. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Перевод текста «Воспоминаний» («Mémoir») Эрнандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда на русский язык: рассказ об исчезнувших племенах Флориды, населявшие ее в середине XVI в. // Инновации в науке, обществе, образовании: монография / под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева; Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение». – Пенза, 2021. – С. 203–219. – (Глава 17.)
11. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Междисциплинарное взаимодействие в науке на примере рассмотрения открытия и освоения Флориды в XVI в. // Современные проблемы науки и общества: монография / под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева; Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение». – Пенза, 2021. – С. 146–161. – (Глава 12).
12. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Исчезнувшие племена Флориды как актуальный вопрос современной науки и образования: необходимость выхода из забвения знаний об истории американских народов «досеминольской эпохи». Актуальные вопросы современной науки и образования: монография / под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева; Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение». – Пенза, 2021. – С. 128–140. – (Глава 11).

13. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Перевод на русский язык трех булл от 1493 года римского папы Александра VI: буллы №1 «Breve Inter Caetera», буллы №3 «Eximiae Devotionis» и буллы №4 «Dudum Siquide». Наука, инновации, образование: актуальные вопросы и современные аспекты: монография. / под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева; Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение». – Пенза, 2021. – С. 195–213. – (Глава 14).

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15. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Рабство и свобода аборигенов Нового Света в начале XVI в. как следствие политических баталий и испанской короны и Дома Колумбов. // European Scientific Conference: сборник статей XXIII Международной научно-практической конференции, Пенза, 6 декабря 2020. – Пенза, 2019. – С. 95–101.
16. Ашрафьян, К. Э. Сведения о расселении и карта племен аборигенов на полуострове Флорида в XVI веке: история возвращения и небытия. // Лучшая научно-исследовательская работа 2021: сборник статей XXXII Международного научно-исследовательского конкурса,

состоявшегося 15 августа 2021 г. в г. Пенза / под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева; Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение». – Пенза, 2021. – С. 50–55.

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18. Ашрафьян, К. Проблемные точки междисциплинарного взаимодействия при рассмотрении открытия и освоения Испанской Флориды в XVI в. // Статья для 42-го Международного конкурса научно-исследовательских работ в номинации «Научные тезисы» по гуманитарному направлению: Международный конкурс научных работ по Историческим наукам, Москва, 16 июля 2021. – Москва: РосНаука, 2021.

### **Work structure.**

According to the tasks set, **the structure of the dissertation research** consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and references, and applications.

## **Chapter 1. Objective conditions around the discovery of Florida in the first quarter of the 16th century**

### **1.1. The discovery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus and the demand of Rome for the Christianization of the natives**

In 1491, the Queen's confessor and abbot of La Rabida, who was the Franciscan Juan Perez, granted Christopher Columbus an important audience with a pair of Spanish monarchs - Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile<sup>138</sup>, and shortly thereafter, in 1492, the Capitulation of Santa Fe was drawn up<sup>139</sup>. This document stipulated that the monarchs “grant the now named Don Christopher Columbus to their admirals of all islands and continents, which he personally and thanks to his art will discover or acquire in these seas-oceans, and after his death [grant] his heirs and descendants forever this title with all the privileges and prerogatives...”<sup>140</sup>.

On March 15, 1493, separately from each other, two of the three ships sent on the first expedition arrived at the Spanish port of Palos with the news of the discovery of a new route to India<sup>141</sup>. As soon as the discovery of Columbus became known in

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<sup>138</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники, письма, документы / пер. и коммент. Я. М. Света. Москва, 2008. С. 509.

<sup>139</sup> Хроники открытия Америки. = Crónicas del descubrimiento de América. Nueva España : пер. с испанского. Кн. 1 / [ред. совет: С. А. Шмидт (гл. ред.) и др.]. Москва, 2000. С. 490.

<sup>140</sup> Там же, С. 413.

<sup>141</sup> Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч: католическая церковь в Исп. Америке, XVI-XVIII вв. Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва, 1977. С. 295.



Rome, Pope Alexander VI drew up the bull "Breve Inter Caetera" No. 1 of May 3, 1493<sup>142</sup>. It is officially dated that the next day the second document was released - "Minor Inter Caetera" No. 2<sup>143</sup>. In the bull of May 3, the rights to protect the land are assigned to the Castilian Crown: "... we, by the power of almighty God, granted to us through St. Peter, and as vicars of Jesus Christ on earth, give, concede and receive on your descendants belonging to Castile and Leon [the mentioned lands] with all possessions, cities, castles, settlements and settlements, with rights, jurisdiction and everything related to them»<sup>144</sup>.

It also spoke about the importance of the Christianization of the local population: "Among other acts pleasing to almighty God and desired by our heart, the most important in our time is the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the Christian religion and its strengthening and dissemination for the salvation of souls and for the sake of humility and conversion to this faith of barbaric peoples»<sup>145</sup>.

The bull "Dudum siquidem" of Pope Alexander VI dated September 26, 1493 gave the right to military action against any countries that could intentionally or accidentally find themselves

<sup>142</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//MP-BULAS\_BREVES,1. Breve Inter Caetera [Fecha de creación] 1493-05-03, Roma.

<sup>143</sup> Colección de Bulas, Breves Y Otros Documentos Relativos a La Iglesia de America Y Filipinas. American Theological Library Association, 1879. P. 989.

<sup>144</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба : дневники, письма, документы / пер. и коммент. Я. М. Света. Москва, 2008. С. 509.; Хроники открытия Америки. = Crónicas del descubrimiento de América. Nueva España: пер. с испанского. Кн. 1 / [ред. совет: С. А. Шмидт (гл. ред.) и др.]. Москва, 2000. С. 490.; Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч: католическая церковь в Исп. Америке, XVI-XVIII вв. Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва, 1977. С. 295.

<sup>145</sup> Хроники открытия Америки... С. 266

in the territory belonging to the crown of Castile: "They can freely detain everyone there or arrest with their power»<sup>146</sup>.

The discovery of new lands by Christopher Columbus under the flag of the Castilian Kingdom brought tangible benefits to each party involved in this event<sup>147</sup>:

- The Pope was interested in expanding the borders of the Christian world to the West after the reduction of lands in the East as a result of the conquests of the Ottoman Empire. The rapid Christianization of new peoples opened up the prospect of receiving new income from the paid tithes of the church.

- The royal couple was guided by the possibility of acquiring new vassals after the expansion of the borders of the Kingdom of Castile and Leon. This ensured an increase in revenue to the treasury by collecting taxes from a larger number of subjects, which the Indians were to become, as well as income from the development of new territories and trade with open lands.

- The Genoese Christopher Columbus had an obvious economic interest, multiplied by the guarantees of his lifelong position as Viceroy of the Indies enshrined in the Capitulation of Santa Fe. Literally: "Your Highnesses appoint the named Don Christopher Columbus as their viceroy and chief ruler on all the named islands and continents, which, as already mentioned, he will discover or acquire in the named seas...»<sup>148</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//MP-BULAS\_BREVES,2. Breve Inter Caetera [Fecha de creación] 1493-09-26, Roma.

<sup>147</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Энкомьенда как система отношений между аборигенами и поселенцами Нового Света через призму политики христианизации и рабства. 1492-1504 гг. // Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 3. С. 8-16.

<sup>148</sup> Хроники открытия Америки... С. 413.

The Genoese Christopher Columbus had an obvious economic interest, multiplied by the guarantees of his lifelong position as Viceroy of the Indie enshrined in the Capitulation of Santa Fe. Literally: "Your Highnesses appoint the named Don Christopher Columbus as their viceroy and chief ruler on all the named islands and continents, which, as already mentioned, he will discover or acquire in the named seas..."<sup>149</sup>. These attempts were recorded in documents: for example, Queen Isabella I of Castile, who became an accidental witness of the trade by aborigenes from New World in a Spanish port and outraged by Columbus' actions, uttered the phrase that became widely known: "What right does my admiral have to give my vassals to someone?" («¿Qué poder tiene el mío Almirante para dar a nadie mis vasallos?»)<sup>150</sup>.

Thus, the main condition for the granting of new territories to the Castilian Crown by the Pope (the condition for the Christianization of the aborigines) was ignored by Christopher Columbus.

Mutually beneficial and rather close relations between Isabella, Ferdinand and Alexander VI began even before the proclamation of Rodrigo Borgia by the Pope under the name of Alexander VI (August 11, 1492), when Rodrigo Borgia was still a papal legate and the future couple of monarchs were just a couple waiting for permission to marry. Therefore, an easily understandable step was the proclamation of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon as bearers of the title of "Catholic

<sup>149</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Энкомьенда как система... С. 8-16.

<sup>150</sup> Prescott W. H. The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Vol. 3. London, 1883. P. 200-202.; Walsh, W. T. Isabella of Spain. London, 1935. P. 210.

Kings" ("Los Reyes Católicos")<sup>151</sup> in the bull "Si convenit" of December 19, 1496. This gave them recognition in Europe and the opportunity to lead the Christianization in the new open lands with the full support of Rome.

### **Conclusion:**

The transfer of new lands to the Kingdom of Castile was made possible primarily due to the long-term personal connection between the new Pope Alexander VI, who came from the lands of the Kingdom of Aragon, and Queen Isabella and her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon.

## **1.2. Encomienda as a reason for the discovery of nearby islands and the migration of aborigines**

On September 2, 1501, the Catholic kings appointed Nicolás de Ovando of the Order of Alcántara as governor of the island of Hispaniola and governor-general of the West Indies<sup>152</sup>.

On December 20, 1503, in Spain, in Medina del Campo (Kingdom of Castile), the Royal Decree<sup>153</sup> was issued to regulate

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<sup>151</sup> Клула И. Взлет семьи Борджиа. Ростов-н/Д, 1997. С. 465.

<sup>152</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники, письма, документы / пер. и коммент. Я. М. Света. Москва, 2008. С. 509.; Хроники открытия Америки. = Crónicas del descubrimiento de América. Nueva España : пер. с испанского. Кн. 1 / [ред. совет: С. А. Шмидт (гл. ред.) и др.]. Москва, 2000. С. 490.; Ашрафьян К. Э. Рабство и свобода аборигенов Нового Света в начале XVI в. как следствие политических баталий и испанской короны и Дома Колумбов. European Scientific Conference : сборник статей XXIII Международной научно-практической конференции. Пенза, 6 декабря 2020. Пенза, 2020. С. 95-101.; Магидович И. П. История открытия и исследования Северной Америки Москва, 1962. С. 476.

<sup>153</sup> Domingo R. S. Las leyes de Burgos de 1512 y la doctrina jurídica de la conquista // Revista jurídica de Castilla y León. 2012. № 28. P. 1-55.

the work of Indians for Castilian settlers in the New World. It was written based on a provision issued by the Governor-General of the West Indies, Nicholas de Ovando, which he in turn received as a result of the Royal Writ <sup>154</sup>.

The Royal Status originally extended to the islands of Hispaniola (modern name - Haiti) and San Juan (the modern name is Puerto Rico), and subsequently included Jamaica, thus becoming a common law for all Spanish territories in the New World.

This system, from the experience of the Reconquista, in which the Crown of Castile and León handed over "under the guardianship" of the inhabitants of the territories conquered from the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, was called *encomienda* in the West Indies (*encomienda*) <sup>155</sup>. The main point of the *encomienda* was the allotment of land with the Indians living on it, and its difference from other forms of ownership was that these allotments were not fully private property of the settlers. *Encomienda* did not mean the cession of the land itself but had mean only the use of this land by the Spanish settler with the involvement of the natives on it.

Unlike *repartimiento*, which meant only the distribution of land and the local population, the *encomienda* also included the responsibility of the *encomenderos* Spaniards, their care and protection in relation to the Indians living on the lands given to the settlers, as well as the obligation to convert the natives to Christianity. The Indians had to pay taxes and perform duties:

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<sup>154</sup> Domingo R. S. *Las leyes de Burgos de 1512...* P. 1-55.

<sup>155</sup> Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч: католическая церковь в Исп. Америке, XVI-XVIII вв. Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва, 1977. С. 295.

work in the mines, farm and provide provisions for Christians. The work had to be paid by salary and products. The work of the Indians was supervised, and the remuneration for it was normalized by the state, and not by an agreement between owners and workers <sup>156</sup>.

Governor Ovando assigned a certain number of Indians to each settler, led by a cacique chief <sup>157</sup> who sent the Indians to work<sup>158</sup>. It was important that the natives were also considered vassals of the Spanish kings. The encomenderos Spanish settler was responsible for paying taxes both to himself<sup>159</sup> and to the Indians who lived on the land given to him. Such possession was allowed to the settlers, first "for one lifetime", and then, from March 25, 1536, extended to two and three generations. At the same time, the land was still considered the property of the Castilian crown. The order of succession was established as in Spain: the eldest son became the heir in priority, then the other sons, then the daughter, and only then the wife<sup>160</sup>.

The encomienda system, created and introduced by Governor Nicolás Ovando in 1503, became the basic legal model for all Spanish overseas territories for many years. The number

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<sup>156</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 508.

<sup>157</sup> Касик – это не вождь, а глава большого дома, т. е. расширенного домохозяйства. Об этом говорил Джон Хупс из Канзасского Университета во время конференции RARN 3, которая прошла 3 декабря 2021 г. в формате on-line.

<sup>158</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 78.

<sup>159</sup> O'Hara J. F. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca: First President of the Indies (1493-1523) // The Catholic Historical Review. 1917. Vol. 3, № 2. P. 131-150.

<sup>160</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 89.

of Indians on encomiendas was fixed in the contract, so the death of an aboriginal gave the owner the opportunity to replenish their number according to the records. This necessitated sending expeditions to neighboring islands to capture the Indians to use as laborers for the encomenderos settlers in place of the dead natives.

In 1508, while still under the governorship of Ovando, a formal request was sent to the Spanish crown from the procurators of the island of Hispaniola, if necessary, to bring Indians from the "neighboring useless islands" <sup>161</sup> in order to keep a sufficient number of workers in Hispaniola. The petition explicitly stated that new Indians were needed to replace the dead in order to work. Permission was given by the monarch on the condition that the Indians brought in would receive a salary and not be slaves<sup>162</sup> (see Appendix No. 1.4).

The first order of this kind was given on August 14, 1509, to Diego Columbus, who replaced Ovando as governor of Hispaniola. The Spanish crown introduced a rule for the distribution of Indians, according to which Spanish royal judges (alcalde) and other royal officials were given 100-200 Indians each, family caballeros (caballero) - 80 each, having a family "shieldman" or "escudero" was supposed to be 60 Indians, and a family peasant - 30<sup>163</sup>.

On November 12, 1509, a second letter was sent by King Ferdinand II of Aragon, in which the former users were allowed to keep the Indians, and to replenish new possessions with

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<sup>161</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники... С. 509.

<sup>162</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 83.

<sup>163</sup> Там же. С. 508.

workers from natives brought from other islands<sup>164</sup>. This decision spurred the settlers to make new expeditions to neighboring islands to capture the Indians and sell them as slaves to the Spaniards-encomenderos.

In 1509, the redistribution of the Indians in favor of their supporters by the new governor, Diego Columbus, caused unrest and a sharp reaction among the "royalists". Complaints and petitions followed, sent to King Ferdinand II of Aragon. Soon, judges of appeal, regidores and clerks were sent from Spain to the West Indies under the leadership of Rodrigo de Albuquerque (Rodrigo de Albuquerque)<sup>165</sup>. The new redistribution of labor forced the settlers to capture natives from nearby islands to work in encomiendas, mines and plantations on Hispaniola and San Juan Island.

### ***Conclusion:***

Thus, the encomienda system required a constant replenishment of the number of workers to replace the natives who died due to difficult working conditions. This gave the legal right to enslave the Indians from the surrounding lands (see Appendix No. 1.4). As this practice continued for many years, the neighboring islands became depopulated, and in the process of finding new places, the hunters for "human goods" mapped new territories.

Back in 1511, the Dominican monk Montesinos said that in 15-16 years a huge number of aborigines died innocently, although there had previously been "a myriad"<sup>166</sup> of them on the

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<sup>164</sup> Там же. С. 89.

<sup>165</sup> Там же. С. 90.

<sup>166</sup> Montesinos F. Homila en la Catedral de Santo Domingo. 1511. Colección de documentos literarios del Peru. URL:



island. Las Casas claimed that out of three million souls only twenty thousand remained in Hispaniola<sup>167</sup>, and Pedro Martyr de Angleria wrote about 40,000 Indians taken from the Bahamas to the encomiendas of Cuba<sup>168</sup> and Hispaniola within 20 years.<sup>169</sup>

### **1.3. The balance of power between the Crown of Castile and the "House of Columbus" in 1511-1513**

Attention should be paid to Diego Columbus's renewal of the claims of the "House of Columbus" against the Spanish crown (Pleitos Colombinos 1492-1541) and the decision of the Castilian court of 1511, as well as legal battles from the capitulation of Santa Fe to the lawsuit between Diego Columbus and the Crown of Castile.

The alliance between the Kingdom of Castile and León and the Kingdom of Aragon was strengthened by the marriage between Queen Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, who were relatives and came from the same dynasty - the "House of Trastamara". After the death of Isabella in 1504, Ferdinand

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<http://www.archive.org/details/segundaparte00ciezrich> (дата обращения: 09.10.21)

<sup>167</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индии: [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471.

<sup>168</sup> Христофор Колумб назвал остров Кубу островом *Хуан*, потом – *Альфа* и *Омега*. А индейцы тайно называют его *Колба*. Его происхождение от слова *Кубао*, что на языке индейцев тайно может означать: «где имеется в изобилии плодородная земля». Позже король Фердинанд II Арагонский продиктовал королевский указ о названии Кубы собственным именем – *Фердинанд*.

<sup>169</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 508.

did not receive the right to rule the kingdom. The Castilian aristocracy, represented by the Cortes of Castile, invited Philip the Handsome to bypass Ferdinand: Philip was the husband of Juana I of Castile, the daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand, and the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. This was a strong political blow to Ferdinand II of Aragon, who sought to unite Spain and Europe.

However, already on September 25, 1506, Philip the Handsome died unexpectedly as a result of an unproven poisoning<sup>170</sup>. After her daughter's insanity as a result of this misfortune, her father, Ferdinand II of Aragon, began to manage affairs in both parts of Spain: in the kingdom of Castile and León as regent on behalf of his daughter, and in the kingdom of Aragon as a full king. It is worth noting that it was the Kingdom of Castile and León, based on the bull of 1493, that owned the rights to the open lands of the New World<sup>171</sup>.

In 1508, an important event took place in the Kingdom of Castile that influenced the future of the conquest: Diego Columbus, the son of Christopher Columbus, left his bride with a child, marrying Maria Toledo y Rojas, the niece of the Second Duke of Alba<sup>172</sup>, who belonged to the same royal "House of Trastamara" as the Catholic Monarchs - Ferdinand and the late Queen Isabella.

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<sup>170</sup> Лалагуна Х. Испания: история страны / [пер. с англ. Е. Габитбаевой, М. Башкатова]. М., С. 351.; Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи / [пер. с англ.: В. Гончарова]. Москва, 2016. С. 734.

<sup>171</sup> Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч: католическая церковь в Исп. Америке, XVI-XVIII вв. Акад. наук СССР, Ин-т этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая. Москва, 1977. С. 295.

<sup>172</sup> Ashrafyan K. E. The policy of Catholic Monarchs and Popes in the New World on the Christianization of the population and the policy of local authorities (1492-1513) // Самарский научный вестник. 2021. Т. 10, № 1. С. 230-236.

In Spain at that time there was a confrontation between King Ferdinand and the aristocracy represented by the Cortes of Castile. The Castilian aristocracy offered an alliance to Diego Columbus, who was preparing a plan to return his father's legacy. His goal was to manage the lands discovered by Christopher in the New World after his death in 1506.

As a result of an internal dispute between the governor of Hispaniola, Nicolás de Ovando, and the Castilians, Bishop Fonseca, who was always in charge of politics in the Indies, demanded that Ovando be replaced. In 1508, the Spanish crown removed the governor from office for "cruel treatment of the Indians" <sup>173</sup>. With the participation of the bishop and secretary Conchillos, on October 29, 1508, the king appointed Columbus governor of Hispaniola with one condition - "without prejudice to the right in the dispute" about the inheritance<sup>174</sup>. These words indicate that after this appointment, Ferdinand counted on the termination of litigation about the inheritance (claims of the "House of Columbus") by Diego.

Explaining the situation, the king wrote a letter in which he ordered all the officials of the New World to recognize Diego as the ruler of these islands<sup>175</sup> in confirmation of the hereditary title of admiral of the Indies, but not of the Ocean. At the same time, Columbus was not appointed viceroy of the West Indies: he received the title of "Ruler of the island of Hispaniola and other

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<sup>173</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 508.

<sup>174</sup> Cesáreo F. D. Los pleitos de Colón. Introducción. Boletín de la Real //Academia de la Historia. 1892. Vol. 20. P. 521-535

<sup>175</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи / [пер. с англ.: В. Гончарова]. Москва, 2016. С. 734.

islands" discovered by his father<sup>176</sup>. Thus, Diego's power did not extend to the rest of the West Indies <sup>177</sup>.

With this appointment, Ferdinand made a serious mistake: very soon, in the same year, Columbus, with the assistance of the Duke of Alba, who had become related to him, filed a lawsuit with the judicial authorities of Castile loyal to him to restore his rights as the full heir of his father, Christopher Columbus. These lawsuits went down in history as the Columbus Trials or Pleitos Colombinos and lasted from 1492 to 1541<sup>178</sup>.

The demands of Diego Columbus grew<sup>179</sup>, and soon he demanded from the Castilian court confirmation of his rights to appoint positions in city councils and even to approve the captains of ships going to the West Indies. As well as the administration of justice and the receipt of income in the lands extending to the west of the line of demarcation of Christendom between Spain and Portugal<sup>180</sup>, subject to their opening

Columbus demanded that the court of Castile clarify the question: who exactly - he or the Crown of Castile - has the right to distribute local residents among encomiendas and collect taxes from the colonists. These demands passed through the Court of Castile because they affected the prerogative of Christopher Columbus and his heirs under the terms of the

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<sup>176</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 508.

<sup>177</sup> Там же. С. 305.

<sup>178</sup> Cesáreo F. D. Los pleitos de Colón. Introducción. Boletín de la Real //Academia de la Historia. 1892. Vol. 20. P. 521-535.

<sup>179</sup> Там же. P. 522.

<sup>180</sup> Тордесильясский договор 1494 г. разграничивал сферы влияния в мире между Испанией и Португалией по демаркационной линии, проходящей в 100 лигах (320 милях) западнее островов Зеленого Мыса. Документ был вызван буллой Папы Римского Александра VI и одобрен Папой Римским Юлием II лишь в 1506 г.

Capitulation of Santa Fe. But most important were his material claims, such as the right to receive part of the church tithe, fines, etc.<sup>181</sup>

As a result, a judgment delivered at Seville by a Castilian court of May 5, 1511, upheld the prerogative of government appointments and the administration of justice in the person of Diego Columbus and his successors in the lands discovered by Christopher Columbus and belonging to Diego Columbus by right of inheritance. The sentence was approved and prescribed for execution by the provision on compulsory execution<sup>182</sup>.

As a result, the society of the West Indies, already in tension, split into two camps: the allies of Columbus and the "royalists". The second was headed by the royal treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte, who "was in great honor with the king."<sup>183</sup> Pasamonte arrived in the New World as early as 1508 and represented the interests of Bishop Fonseca in the Indies<sup>184</sup>.

With the help of supporters of Diego, Columbus tried to seize the judiciary in the New World and appointed his people to the posts of judges, reinforcing his actions legally. By giving them legal force, he won cases against the "royalists".

Bartolome Las Casas testified that "after the arrival of Diego Columbus, relations in Novaya Zemlya resembled a "jar of poisonous spiders", where everyone tried to survive and kill each

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<sup>181</sup> Там же. P. 523.

<sup>182</sup> Cesáreo F. D. Los pleitos de Colón. Introducción... P. 521-523.

<sup>183</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471.; Ашрафьян К. Э. К вопросу об открытии Флориды в 1513 году // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. М., 2020. № 2. С. 166-174.

<sup>184</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи / [пер. с англ.: В. Гончарова]. Москва, 2016. С. 734.

other with denunciations, slander, everyone envied each other and everyone tried to get rich at the expense of the other"<sup>185</sup>.

Having won proceedings in the court of Castile in 1511, Diego Columbus decided to remove Juan Ponce de Leon, who was appointed governor of San Juan by King Ferdinand II. Ponce de Leon, born in a place called Santervas de Campos in the Castilian province of Valladolid, was an ardent "royalist" and from the very beginning came into conflict with Diego Columbus.

Columbus also began to expand the boundaries of his administration by capturing and reclaiming Cuba, where as early as 1493 his father had erected a stone cross. Before that, in 1509, the expedition of Sebastian de Ocampo mapped the island, refuting the old ideas about Cuba (Isabella Island) as part of the mainland<sup>186</sup>.

In 1511-1512 conquistador Diego Velazquez, loyal to the "House of Columbus", landed in Cuba, breaking the resistance of the united detachments of local Indians and warriors who emigrated from Hispaniola, led by the cacique Atuey (Hatuey)<sup>187</sup>. Later, Velasquez formally began to be called not the governor of Cuba, but the viceroy of the governor (teniente de gobernador). This led to the expansion of the administrative, legal and actual power of Columbus in the islands of the New World.

In 1511, King Ferdinand, worried about the loss of power and income in the New World, and also taking into account the

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<sup>185</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индии: [сокр.] пер. с испан... С. 17.

<sup>186</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды и начало испанской экспансии в юго-восточной части североамериканского континента в 1510-е годы // Латинская Америка. 2013. Т. 9. С. 58-69.

<sup>187</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индии: [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471.

streams of complaints from the "royalists" about the oppression and seizure of their encomiendas, created a counterbalance to the power of Viceroy Diego Columbus in the person of the "appellate judges of the islands India and the Continent" (***jueces de apelación de las islas, Indias e tierra firme del mar Océano***)<sup>188</sup>. These judges dealt with complaints against the decisions of Diego Columbus, his deputies and officials loyal to him<sup>189</sup>. The Royal Audience of Santo Domingo<sup>190</sup> (see Appendix 2.11) became the highest court within the island colonies and some of the neighboring mainland lands until the establishment of its audiences there - including Cuba and Hispaniola, San Juan and Jamaica<sup>191</sup>.

The king now appointed and removed governors and thus could influence local elites<sup>192</sup>. The activities of officials through the Residency Court (Juicio de Residencia) were also investigated. The power of the monarch was advocated by royal officials (*nuestros oficiales*), merchants, royal accountants, and treasurers<sup>193</sup>. The speech against the administration of Diego Columbus within the framework of the encomienda was unexpectedly initiated by the Dominican monks.

The Dominicans arrived in the West Indies in 1510. At that time, the Franciscan order reigned supreme there for 17 years.

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<sup>188</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 308.

<sup>189</sup> Там же. С. 309.

<sup>190</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26: Audiencia de Santo Domingo. [Fecha de creación] 1582, Santo Domingo.

<sup>191</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 309; История Латинской Америки. Доколумбова эпоха – 70-е годы XIX века. М. : Наука, 1991. С. 77

<sup>192</sup> Там же. С. 311.

<sup>193</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 312.

The Dominicans became "friends of the Indians" by collecting their grievances. The matter accelerated even more when they were joined by the Spaniard Garces, who had been hiding from persecution for several years as a fugitive murderer of his Indian wife and who knew about everything that happened on the island<sup>194</sup>.

The result of the activities of the monks was the performance of the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos at two Sunday masses in Hispaniola in 1511. These were accusatory speeches against the management methods of the administration headed by Diego Columbus. These speeches changed the course of events in the West Indies<sup>195</sup>.

Arriving in Spain, the Dominicans met with the king and showed him the complaints about the mistreatment of the Indians<sup>196</sup>. As a subtle politician, Ferdinand II of Aragon initiated the convening of a meeting (junta), consisting of the indisputable authorities of that time - theologians, priests and members of the Royal Council. The junta was supposed to consider the complaints of the Dominicans about the policy towards the Indians and discuss the issue of the ethical problem of the conquest, the condition of the indigenous peoples and their right to be the same vassals of the Kingdom of Castile, like the Spanish settlers themselves<sup>197</sup>.

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<sup>194</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий... С. 79, 300.

<sup>195</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. От энкомьенды Николаса Овандо до Бургосских Законов (1503-1512 гг.). Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 6. С. 1-10.

<sup>196</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий... С. 471.

<sup>197</sup> Domingo R. S. Las leyes de Burgos de 1512 y la doctrina jurídica de la conquista // Revista jurídica de Castilla y León. 2012. № 28. P. 14.



Ferdinand also hoped to condemn Diego Columbus himself, dismissing him as having failed to manage the territories<sup>198</sup> entrusted to him for failure to fulfill the main order of the Pope - the Christianization of the local population. This is exactly what happened earlier with Christopher Columbus in 1495 and 1499<sup>199</sup>.

The laws adopted by the junta of Burgos in 1512<sup>200</sup> were supplemented by amendments - the "Laws of Valladolid" of 1513, also adopted at the insistence of the Dominicans by another composition of the "authoritative men" of Spain in 1513<sup>201</sup>.

The Junta of Valladolid then adopted the "Requirement for the Indians" of 1513 (*Requerimiento a los Indianos*)<sup>202</sup> by Juan López de Palacios Rubios. Under this law, power over any new open lands was to be held directly by the Crown of Castile. The document was supposed to be read at the opening of a new land and declared power without mentioning the "House of Columbus"<sup>203</sup>. In addition, a "royal inspector of the Indians" (*visitador de los Indios*) was appointed in the West Indies, who was supposed to monitor compliance with the adopted in 1512-

<sup>198</sup> Borja Vallejo Puig F. de. *Leyes de Burgos 1512 // Mar oceana: Revista del humanismo español e iberoamericano*. 2010. T. 27. P. 200-202.

<sup>199</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники, письма, документы / пер. и коммент. Я. М. Света. Москва, 2008. С. 471.

<sup>200</sup> Borja Vallejo Puig F. de. *Leyes de Burgos 1512 // Mar oceana: Revista del humanismo español e iberoamericano*. 2010. T. 27. P. 200.

<sup>201</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Хунта и законы Вальядолида 1513 г. как продолжение законов Бургоса 1512 г. *European Scientific Conference : сборник статей XXVII Международной научно-практической конференции*, Пенза, 7 апреля 2021. Пенза, 2021. С. 66-72.

<sup>202</sup> «Требование к Индейцам» 1513 года («*Requerimiento a los Indianos*» 28 julio 1513) можно встретить как «Индийский Акт» 1513 года.

<sup>203</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Перевод «Требования к индейцам» («*Requerimiento a los Indios*. 28 julio 1513»): сохранить прошлое для понимания будущего. Наука и образование: сохраняя прошлое, создаем будущее: сборник статей XXXVI Международной научно-практической конференции. Пенза, 30 ноября 2021. Пенза, 2021. С. 68-73.

1513. laws recognizing the natives as free people, equal in rights with the Castilians<sup>204</sup>. They now legally became equal vassals of the Crown of Castile. In the event of the refusal of the natives to fulfill the conditions of the "Requirements for the Indians", the Spaniards could start hostilities and enslave the prisoners.

As soon as Juan Ponce de Leon went on an expedition to discover the land of Bimini, when in May 1513 two procurators from the conquistador Vasco Nunez de Balboa arrived at the court of Ferdinand. A letter from Balboa said: "In the province of Darien, we have discovered many rich gold veins. There is a lot of gold here." <sup>205</sup> The bishop of Fonseca, who presented the envoys to the king, and the king himself decided to quickly assemble an expedition at public expense, naming the future province of Golden Castile (Castillia de Oro).

The conquistador Pedrarias de Avila was appointed head of the expedition. It is important that now, based on the "Requirement to the Indians", in the instructions issued on August 2, 1513, there was no mention of the subordination of this expedition to Diego Columbus as Admiral of the Indies<sup>206</sup>. The transfer of the Order of Francis to the side of King Ferdinand II of Aragon was also important: after the adoption of the "Laws of Burgos", it was the Franciscans who had to take up direct duties of spreading the holy Catholic faith among the natives, becoming together with the Dominicans who returned to

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<sup>204</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 319.

<sup>205</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи / [пер. с англ.: В. Гончарова]. Москва, 2016. С. 379-380.

<sup>206</sup> Там же. С. 379-383.

the West Indies in 1512. (see Appendix No. 2.16)<sup>207</sup>, an integral part of the institution of royalty in the West Indies<sup>208</sup>.

As a result, after the adoption of the aforementioned laws, the work of the judges of appeal appointed by the king in Hispaniola led to the attack of the "royalists" on Diego Columbus and his deputies. The result of this struggle was the sabotage of local authorities in relation to royal orders: "obey, but not execute" (**"se acata pero no se cumple"**)<sup>209</sup>. This is how the alignment of forces in the West Indies looked like by 1513, on the eve of Ponce de Leon's expedition to Bimini - the future Florida.

Consider how the conflict between the Spanish crown and the "House of Columbus" developed in the light of plans to open a new land.

As mentioned earlier, on the map of 1511, compiled by Pedro Martyr, the island of Bimini appeared. The Indians of the Lucayos Islands (Bahamas) have long known about the existence of Florida and called it Cautio (Cautiό) because its inhabitants wore special loincloths woven from palm leaves.<sup>210</sup>

In 1512, the "House of Columbus", represented by the younger brother of Christopher Columbus, Bartolomé Colόn, proposed his candidacy to the crown in the development of the

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<sup>207</sup>

Archivo

General

de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE, 419,L.4,F.23R(1): Orden a Diego Colόn. [Fecha de creaciόn] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>208</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 321.

<sup>209</sup> Там же. С. 311.

<sup>210</sup> Worrth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 55.

island of Bimini, but received a natural refusal<sup>211</sup>. For obvious reasons, King Ferdinand II was not interested in expanding the zone of influence of the Columbuses. He himself was going to manage the income from the future open lands of America.

To do this, the crown needed to decide on the candidacy of the one who would become the governor of new, yet undiscovered lands. The conflict between King Ferdinand and Diego Columbus in the New World was clearly manifested in the situation on the island of San Juan, where Diego entrusted the administration to Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz de Aux (Miguel Diaz de Aux)<sup>212</sup>.

However, on the recommendation of Nicholas de Ovando, who retired in 1508, King Ferdinand II of Aragon appointed Juan Ponce de Leon governor of San Juan by decree. Moreover, the king secretly sent the decree by ship to the treasurer of Hispaniola, Miguel de Pasamonte. From the first days of the arrival of Diego Columbus, Pasamonte came into conflict with him, becoming the leader of the royalist party.

The pro-Columbian administrators, Seron and Diaz, did not recognize Juan Ponce de Leon as governor, that is, they ignored the royal decree, arguing that the king did not have the right to appoint a governor and allegedly only Diego Columbus had the

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<sup>211</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida Reconsidered. // Florida Historical Society. 2013. Vol. 92, № 1. P. 4.; Sanz V.M. Juan Ponce de León : fundador y primer gobernador del pueblo Puertorriqueño, descubridor de la Florida y del Estrecho de las Bahamas. Barcelona, 1971. P. 253.; Ashrafyan K. E., Beznosov M., "Silver Age of Piracy" as a Tool of the Geopolitical Struggle in the Sixteenth Century and Its Interpretation Today: the denigration of the Enemy – Country and the Strategy of "Demonizing" the Enemy // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. 2021. № 2. С. 125–138.; Fusion, R.H. Juan Ponce de León and the Spanish discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida. Blacksburg, 2000. P. 268.

<sup>212</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 1-31.

right to make appointments in the New World. After that, Ponce de Leon arrested, shackled, and sent the rebellious officials to Spain for trial.

This step caused an outburst of indignation on the part of Diego Columbus, who had already entered into hereditary rights to govern the West Indies and demanded through the court in Castile to confirm again the right to appoint governors to office<sup>213</sup>. As noted, on May 5, 1511<sup>214</sup>, Diego Columbus received a judgment in the "Columbian Trials" (Pleitos Colombinos) from Seville on the rights of succession to all titles and rights of his father in Hispaniola and all the islands in the West Indies<sup>215</sup>. Referring to this court decision, Diego Columbus stated that the appointment and administration of justice on the island of San Juan fell within his competence due to hereditary privileges<sup>216</sup>.

Because of this, in 1511, Ponce de León was removed from his post as governor of the island of San Juan, and soon the administration was transferred to his two worst enemies, acquitted by the Castilian court - the senior judge Juan Seron and the senior bailiff Miguel Diaz. As soon as these officials returned to San Juan, they cleared themselves of the blame for the illegal deeds, placing it on Juan Ponce de Leon. They then charged him with their unjust imprisonment and accused him of

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<sup>213</sup> Cesáreo F. D. Los pleitos de Colón. Introducción. Boletín de la Real //Academia de la Historia. 1892. Vol. 20. P. 521-535.

<sup>214</sup> Ashrafyan K. E. The policy of Catholic Monarchs and Popes in the New World on the Christianization of the population and the policy of local authorities (1492-1513) // Самарский научный вестник. 2021. Т. 10, № 1. С. 230-236.

<sup>215</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 303.

<sup>216</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 62.

embezzlement and other state crimes. His ship was confiscated, and the ship's captain and Ponce de Leon's closest friend, Juan Bono de Quejo, was imprisoned. So, the persecution began on the supporters of the adelantado from among the "royalists" in San Juan<sup>217</sup>.

However, even before these events, a close relationship was established between the "royalists" and the royal treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte, through whom the gold found on the island was sent from San Juan to Spain. After Bartolome Columbus was denied the development of the island of Bimini, Pasamonte advised Juan Ponce de Leon, who had been removed from his post as governor, to send the king a proposal to organize an expedition to the island. Ferdinand, having received this letter, forwarded it back to Pasamonte for the purpose of studying the proposal. On the recommendation of the royal treasurer, Ponce de Leon left for Spain to become the head of an expedition and seek protection from the actions of Diego Columbus at the court of King Ferdinand.

At the convening of the junta in Burgos, initiated by the Dominicans in 1512, Juan Ponce de León accused the administration of Diego Columbus of misgoverning the West Indies.

From the very arrival of the Dominicans in the New World, while still acting governor of the island of San Juan, Ponce de Leon supported the Order, providing him with an opportunity for activity and help with the construction of a large parish. He was the best and most suitable candidate for the entire royalist camp

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<sup>217</sup> АКИМОВ Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 60.

to organize an expedition to the island of Bimini<sup>218</sup> for several reasons: Ponce de Leon was devoted to the king, had considerable experience in governing as a governor and organizer of new settlements on undeveloped lands. He also participated in the laying of gold mines and sending it to Spain, successfully contacted the natives, established management systems and the introduction of encomienda on the island, and most importantly, he had personal funds for a new expedition. The decisive factor was the presence of their own large ship with captain Juan Bono de Quejo <sup>219</sup>, as well as participation in hostilities both against the Moors in Spain and against the Indians on the islands of Hispaniola and San Juan. As you know, in 1511, on the island of San Juan, Ponce de Leon won a victory with a detachment of only 300 Spanish settlers, speaking out against 10,000 Indians led by the local leader of the Taino tribe Aguebana II<sup>220</sup>. Support from Dominican friars and "royalists" led by the royal treasurer of the West Indies became important.

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<sup>218</sup> Domingo R. S. Las leyes de Burgos de 1512 y la doctrina jurídica de la conquista // Revista jurídica de Castilla y León. 2012. № 28. P. 14.; Gamazo, A. S. Burgos 1512: La ciudad, los hombres y las leyes = Burgos 1512: the city, the men and the laws. URL: <http://coloquioscanariasamerica.casadecolon.com/index.php/CHCA/article/view/9179> (дата обращения: 22.11.2021)

<sup>219</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 60.

<sup>220</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon. New York, 1908. P. 122-136; Ашрафьян К. Э. К вопросу об открытии Флориды в 1513 году // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. М., 2020. № 2. С. 169.

Thus, without risks to the royal treasury<sup>221</sup>, the Castilian crown could acquire new lands that would be subordinate to it through the *adelantado*<sup>222</sup>, personally loyal to King Ferdinand. And on February 23, 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon received an official contract (Asiento de Juan Ponce de Leon) (see Appendix No. 2.17 and 2.18.A, 2.18.B) from King Ferdinand II of Aragon for the discovery of the island of Bimini. The King also appointed him adelantado and alcalde (i.e. judge) of the island<sup>223</sup>. In chapters XVI and XIII, Oviedo's notes say that Ponce de Leon owes his appointment and receipt of the title of Adelantado Bimini to his sponsor, Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, a knight of the Order of Calatrava<sup>224</sup>.

In addition, in order to avoid the disruption of the expedition by Diego Columbus, who administrated the island of San Juan, King Ferdinand appointed Juan Ponce de Leon inspector (Alcade) and treasurer (Tesorero) of this island on December 10, 1512. Also, by a separate order, the king forbade

<sup>221</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,418,L3,F.253R-255V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos; Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,415, L.1, F.13R-15V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos; Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,418, L3,F.253R-255V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos.

<sup>222</sup> Аделантадо – это титул конкистадора, который направлялся королём на исследование и завоевание земель, лежащих за пределами испанских владений. Этот титул давал право самостоятельно организовывать экспедиции, не испрашивая на то разрешения местных властей. Аделантадо также мог распределять земли и назначать мелких чиновников [Кофман, 2017], [Магидович, 1977].

<sup>223</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 60.

<sup>224</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 16.



encroaching on Ponce's property. Soon a new governor of San Juan was appointed, who became Rodrigo de Moscoso.<sup>225</sup>

### ***Conclusion:***

So, there was a situation in which the Crown of Castile gave the still undiscovered land to Juan Ponce de Leon, bypassing the officially recognized administration headed by the Governor of the West Indies<sup>226</sup> Diego Columbus<sup>227</sup>.

## **1.4. The expeditions of Juan Ponce de Leon and Pedro de Salazar 1513-1514 and their consequences**

On February 23, 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon received a contract from King Ferdinand II of Aragon for the discovery of the island of Bimini. The document was sealed by Bishop Lope Conchillos of Valencia. The contract (see Appendix No. 2.18) stated that Ponce de Leon "must find Bimini<sup>228</sup> land within a year and settle it within three years from the day when this contract is presented to you, and that it is necessary to go for discoveries during the first year of the three aforementioned years." <sup>229</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 60-61.

<sup>226</sup> Дъего Колон (Диего Колумб) (1474-1526 гг.), сын Христофора Колумба, правитель о. Эспаньола и «губернатор Всех Индий» в 1508-1515 гг.; в 1520-1523 гг. – вице-король Индий. В книге упоминается также без имени как «адмирал», «второй адмирал», «молодой адмирал».

<sup>227</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. К вопросу об открытии Флориды в 1513 году // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. М., 2020. № 2. С. 170.

<sup>228</sup> Depending on the translation and language, Bimini Island can be named in different sources, in scientific and non-scientific literature, Beimini, Bemini, Биймини (Bimini, Beimeni, Beniny).

<sup>229</sup> Там же. Р. 44.

Получив этот контракт, Понсе де Леон поспешил прибыть на остров Сан-Хуан для подготовки экспедиции. Точное местоположение и размеры легендарной земли Бими́ни<sup>230</sup> были неизвестны, но она уже была обозначена на планисфере итальянцев Альберто Кантино (*Cantino*) в 1502 г. (см. Приложение №1.6) и Кавери (*Caveri*) в 1502–1505 гг. (см. Приложение №1.7.2)<sup>231</sup>, а также нанесена на карту Мартина Вальдзимюллера в 1507 г. (см. Приложение №1.7.1). Ее также можно найти на карте Педро Мартира де Англери́а (*Pedro Mártir de Anglería*) 1511 г. (см. Приложение №1.5), что подтверждает заявление Совета по делам Индий<sup>232</sup>.

The date of the beginning of the first expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon<sup>233</sup> is March 3, 1513<sup>234</sup>. However, according to the documents, the ships left the port of Punto Aguada in the western part of the island of San Juan<sup>235</sup> on March 5, 1513. Ponce de Leon had three ships: two caravels – "Santiago", bought in Spain, and "Santa Maria de la Consolacion", bought in Santo

<sup>230</sup> В зависимости от перевода и языка остров Бими́ни может быть назван в разных источниках, в научной и ненаучной литературе, Беймини, Бемини, Биймини (Bimini, Beimeni, Beniny).

<sup>231</sup> Ashrafyan K. E., Beznosov M., "Silver Age of Piracy" as a Tool of the Geopolitical Struggle in the Sixteenth Century and Its Interpretation Today: the denigration of the Enemy – Country and the Strategy of "Demonizing" the Enemy // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. 2021. № 2. С. 16.

<sup>232</sup> Lowery, W. The Spanish settlements within the present limits of the United States, 1513–1561. New York, 1911. Vol. 2.

<sup>233</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... С. 346

<sup>234</sup> Peck D. T. Ponce de León and the discovery of Florida: the man, the myth, and the truth. Saint Paul, 1993. P. 87.; Он же. Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery Voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1992. Vol. 71, № 2. P. 133–154.

<sup>235</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Рыцари Нового Света. Москва, 2006. С. 266; Peck, D. Misconceptions and Myths Related to the Fountain of Youth and Juan Ponce de Leon's 1513 Exploration Voyage URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080409062720/http://www.newworldexplore.rsinc.org/FountainofYouth.pdf> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021)

Domingo, and the brigantine "San Cristobal" (San Cristobal). According to different versions, the last ship could also be a caravel<sup>236</sup>.

The expedition headed northwest from the island of San Sebastian (modern name - Guanahani), which is located at coordinates 25'40". This was the first island discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492<sup>237</sup> (see Appendix No. 1.8.).

On April 2, 1513, at 30'8" north latitude <sup>238</sup>, land was spotted, which differed from the rest of the sandy islands with lush vegetation. It was the last day of the Easter holidays when the sailors set foot on Bimini land. An unusually beautiful view of the "island" with shady groves prompted Ponce de Leon to name the land Pascua de Florida (Pascua de la Florida) <sup>239</sup>. This name successfully combined local beauty with an important Christian date, turning into an understandable symbol of colonization.

Today, the city of San Augustine (St. Augustine) is considered the first European city in the United States - according to local legends, the expedition of Juan Ponce landed near its beaches. Until 1992, the landing site was listed 30 miles

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<sup>236</sup> Peck D. T. Ponce de León and the discovery of ... P. 87.; Он же. Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 ... P. 133-154.; Он же. Misconceptions and Myths Related to ...

<sup>237</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 48.

<sup>238</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 12.

<sup>239</sup> Aber E., Eden R., The first three English books on America : [1511?] - 1555 A.D. : being chiefly translations, compilation, etc. London, 1885. P. 345.; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, Fla., 2016. P. 43-86.; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 48-49.; Peck D. T. Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery Voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1992. Vol. 71, № 2. P. 133-154.

north of Daytona Beach. However, the explorer Douglas Peck identified on the map a more accurate landing place, made on April 2 (3), 1513 - it was the coast of Melbourne, located 125 miles south of San Augustine<sup>240</sup>. However, the fact accepted by the scientific community<sup>241</sup> was sharply disputed in the writings of Turner, a resident of the city of San Augustine<sup>242</sup>.

It is important to note that the expedition of 1513 included women: this is Juana Ruiz de Jimenez, who can be considered the first woman of European descent to set foot on the land of the USA, her maid, as well as two free black women<sup>243</sup>,. The origin of the maid is of particular interest: Eastern Europe is considered her homeland. Also in the expedition were friar's preacher monks from the Dominican Order (the official name of which sounds like Orden de Predicadores, i.e. "order of preachers")<sup>244</sup>.

During this trip, a strong current was detected<sup>245</sup>, since on April 21 (22), 1513, three ships, following the south of the Florida peninsula, entered a stream in which they could not move forward with a powerful tailwind. At the same time, the small brigantine, not having had time to anchor, was carried away and lost sight of on an absolutely fine day<sup>246</sup>.

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<sup>240</sup> Peck D. T. Ponce de León... PP.7, 28-29.

<sup>241</sup> Он же. Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery Voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1992. Vol. 71, № 2. P. 133-154.; Gannon M. The History of Florida. Gainesville, 2018. P. 557 p.

<sup>242</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 1-31.

<sup>243</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 61.

<sup>244</sup> Wood J. M. A History of the Catholic Church in the American South 1513-1900. Gainesville, 2011. P. 498.

<sup>245</sup> Snapp A. L. The world of the Calusa: A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford. Oxford, 1999. P. 202.

<sup>246</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 52.

The current discovered and recorded by the chief pilot of the expedition, Anton de Alaminos, later (from 1519) helped him plan the course of his expeditions, and later the navigation of the entire Spanish fleet to return to Spain<sup>247</sup>. This current, called by the Spaniards the "Florida Current" (see Appendix No. 1.3), and many years later it was "rediscovered" by the Americans – in 1769 Benjamin Franklin called the Gulf Stream<sup>248</sup>.

Although the Spaniards landed several times to replenish water supplies, it was not until April 20, 1513, that they saw an Indian settlement on the shore<sup>249</sup>.. On the east coast of Florida, Adelantado and his companions installed a stone cross with the inscription (the stone has not been found so far)<sup>250</sup>.

Thus, the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon discovered and declared the possession of the Spanish crown new lands, which were no longer subject to jurisdiction, and, consequently, the lawsuits of the "House of Columbus". These lands included: Florida, the open islands of the Bahamian Archipelago (modern name – Grand Turk, East Caicos (E. Caicos), North Caicos (N. Caicos), Mayaguana (Mayaguana), Samana Cay (Samana Cay), San Salvador Island (San Salvador), Eleuthera, and, of course, the "legendary" Bimini Island<sup>251</sup> itself. In addition, the Islands of the Martyrs (Los Martires), Massacre Island, Tortugas Island, Achecambéi Island, Santa Pola and Santa Marta Islands,

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<sup>247</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 21.

<sup>248</sup> Шокальский Ю. М. Океанография. Ленинград, 1959. С. 537.

<sup>249</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 21.

<sup>250</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... С. 1030.

<sup>251</sup> Peck D. Misconceptions and Myths Related to the Fountain of Youth and Juan Ponce de Leon's 1513 Exploration Voyage. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080409062720/http://www.newworldexplore.rsinc.org/FountainofYouth.pdf> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021)

Chequescha Island, La Vieja Island were discovered (Spanish translation - "Old woman") and others<sup>252</sup>.

On June 3 (May 23), 1513, the expedition stopped on the west coast of Florida between present-day Charlotte Harbor and Sanibel Island to clean the ship<sup>253</sup>. When the Spaniards landed, the Indians who lived on the shore of the western part of the Pasqua de Florida approached the ship "San Cristobal"<sup>254</sup> by canoe. It is noteworthy that the aborigines began to call the Spaniards who sailed Castilians and call them to themselves. But when the Spaniards tried to weigh anchor, the Indians attacked the ship and tried to take it away. At the same time, the Spaniards' rowboat moored to the shore, where the conquistadors "captured four Indian women and smashed two old canoes."<sup>255</sup> . To free the captured local women, the aborigines offered skins and gold<sup>256</sup>. Since gold according to the description was low-grade and resembled that received by the Taino Indians living south of Florida<sup>257</sup>, it can be assumed that by the time the Ponce de Leon expedition contacted the aborigines, immigrants from the Antilles were already living in Florida.

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<sup>252</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact... P. 54.

<sup>253</sup> Herrera y Tordesillas A. Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del mar Océano que llaman Indias Occidentales. Madrid: 1601. P. 303.; Turner S. Juan Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida Reconsidered. // Florida Historical Society. 2013. Vol. 92, № 1. P. 28-30.; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.

<sup>254</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 22.

<sup>255</sup> Herrera y Tordesillas A. Historia general de los... P. 369.

<sup>256</sup> Там же. P.369.

<sup>257</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 24.

In addition, on June 4, 1513, an Indian who "spoke Castilian, who must have been from Hispaniola," <sup>258</sup> arrived at the ships by canoe. He asked the Spaniards to wait until the chief came to exchange goods for gold<sup>259</sup>. However, while the Spaniards were waiting for the leader, 80 canoes appeared instead (some of them were connected by two) with the aborigines, who attacked all three vessels. Details of the attack can be found in the chronicles of Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas under the title "A general history of the deeds of the Castilians on the islands and the land of the ocean of the sea, which they call the West Indies."<sup>260</sup>. The author described in detail the fight with the aborigines: "An armed rowing boat approached them, which forced them to flee and leave several canoes. They [the Spaniards] took five canoes, killed some Indians and captured four. Juan Ponce sent two of them to the chief to tell him that although they had killed a Castilian<sup>261</sup>, he would like to trade with them. The next day, a rowing boat set off to measure the depth of the bay, people landed on the ground – the Indians who suddenly appeared assured that the chief would come the next day to trade, but this was also a deception."

"Their [Calusa tribe's] warriors and canoes were prepared. And thus it happened that at eleven o'clock eighty armed canoes approached the nearest ship. They [Indians and Castilians] fought from morning to night, but there were no casualties

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<sup>258</sup> Worth J. E. *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast*. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, 2016. P. 11.;

<sup>259</sup> Turner S. *Juan Ponce de León...* P. 377.  
92, № 1. P. 24.

<sup>260</sup> Herrera y Tordesillas A. d. *Historia general de los hechos...* P. 404.

<sup>261</sup> Кастилец Педро Бэлло (Pedro Bello) находился в лодке и был убит двумя стрелами [Turner, p. 24–25].

among the Castilians because the arrows did not reach them, as the Indians did not dare to approach because of crossbows and artillery shots. In the end, the Indians retreated, and after delaying [the expedition] for nine days, on Tuesday the fourteenth [day] the Castilians decided to return to Hispaniola and San Juan in order to discover other islands along the way, which they learned from the Indians. They came back to take water for themselves from the island, which they called Massacre Island, because of the Indians they killed" <sup>262</sup>.

So, based on the analysis of documents, it can be noted that in 1513 the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon failed to land on the southwestern coast of Florida. In addition, the Adelantado considered the Florida peninsula itself an island<sup>263</sup>. And on July 25, 1513, the expedition left the coast and, in search of Bimini Island, moved between the islands belonging to the modern Bahamian archipelago.

During the absence of Ponce de Leon on the island of San Juan, an important event occurred: some time after the departure of the expedition, Diego Columbus announced that he

<sup>262</sup> Herrera y Tordesillas A. Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del mar Océano que llaman Indias Occidentales. Madrid: 1601. Libro I, Глава XI.; Turner S. Juan Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida Reconsidered. // Florida Historical Society. 2013. Vol. 92, № 1. P. 25; Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.; Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург, 2017. С. 1030.; Ашрафьян, К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.

<sup>263</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург, 2017. С. 1030; Marquart W.D., Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology // Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Southeastern Archaeology. 2014 June. Vol. 33 (1). P. 1-24.



would personally arrive on San Juan on June 2, 1513. The governor of the island sent out this news, calling all the local settlers. Only the Ponce de Leon family and the Dominican friars who opposed the Columbus administration in 1511 were not invited. At the same time, Columbus announced that he would arrive in San Herman (San Germán) - this settlement was located in another part of the island, far from the capital of Caparra and from the Dominican parish built here in 1512. It was in San Herman that settlers from all over the island came to celebrate the arrival of the viceroy.

At the same time, depopulated and unprotected Caparra was attacked by Caribs<sup>264</sup>. Ponce de Leon's wife and children barely escaped with the Dominicans, but many people loyal to Ponce were killed. The whole city was shaken by a terrible pogrom, and Ponce's house, along with the Dominican church, were looted and burned<sup>265</sup>.

Obviously, this coincidence is not accidental. Moreover, this episode "coincided" with the personal interest of Diego Columbus in destroying the opposition of the "royalists" on the island of San Juan and, at the same time, the arrival of the Dominican friars. The argument in favor of this assumption can be that it was the capital of Caparra that was the center of opposition to the power of Diego Columbus on the island. Indirectly, this is confirmed by the accusations of Ponce de Leon by Diego Columbus that he allegedly built the city in an unprotected place. The role of Columbus's supporters, who lived on San Juan and communicated with the Caciques, the leaders of

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<sup>264</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa... P.1-24.

<sup>265</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... P. 27.

the Taino tribe, who in turn had a connection with the Caribs, is also indisputable. The fact is that in 1510-11 the Caribs supported 10,000 Indians led by Chief Aguebana II and together with them opposed the Spaniards in an uprising, which was suppressed by Ponce de Leon.

All this happened during the absence of Ponce de Leon, who was on an expedition to discover new lands for the Spanish crown.

On July 25, 1513, the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon collided with the ship of Captain Diego Miruelo near the island of Herrera (Herrera Island) from the Bahamas archipelago<sup>266</sup>. This ship, as Ponce de Leon believed, was sent by Viceroy Columbus from Hispaniola with the intention of tracing the route of his expedition<sup>267</sup>. But it so happened that the ships of Ponce de Leon, along with Miruelo's ship, were delayed by storms for twenty-seven days - until September 23, 1513<sup>268</sup>. In addition, due to a big storm, Diego Miruelo's ship sank, and his people were rescued by the sailors of Ponce de Leon<sup>269</sup>.

Apparently, Captain Miruelo informed Ponce de Leon about the Carib attack on Caparra. This was the second important (if not the main) reason for his return and the final termination of the expedition.

Having placed the rescued crew of Captain Miruelo on the sides of two of his three ships, Ponce de Leon nevertheless sent Captain Juan Perez de Ortubia and pilot Anton de Alaminos on

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<sup>266</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 1-31.

<sup>267</sup> Там же. P. 26

<sup>268</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact... P. 43-86.

<sup>269</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 26.

the ship San Cristobal to continue the expedition, "although against his will, because he wanted to do it himself."<sup>270</sup>

Returning, Adelantado decided not to go to Cuba and Hispaniola, where the power of the "House of Columbus" was strong. The date of the end of the expedition is October 19 (13), 1513, when the crews of two ships docked in the port of San Juan - La Bahia de Puerto Rico (La Bahia de Puerto Rico)<sup>271</sup>.

At the same time, the crew of the last ship, the San Cristobal, under the command of de Otrubia and helmsman Alaminos, still managed to discover several new islands - including Bimini. The San Cristobal arrived at San Juan on February 20, 1514<sup>272</sup>. At the same time, the discovery of Bimini Island with the purest water and forest groves was announced, but there was no talk of any "Spring of Youth" or "Fountain of Youth" (see Appendix No. 1.31)<sup>273</sup>. This date is considered to be the end of the first expedition. A map based on the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon 1513-1514. it was compiled by Conte de Ottoman Feduci and dates from 1514-1515 (see Appendix No. 1.33).

Ponce de Leon poisoned himself in Spain, where on September 27, 1514 he received a capitulation (treaty) from King Ferdinand II of Aragon on the order to settle the island of Bimini and Florida (see Appendix No. 2.2, 2.6)<sup>274</sup> and the royal decree

<sup>270</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact... P. 55.

<sup>271</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... С. 1030.

<sup>272</sup> Там же. С. 348.

<sup>273</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 56.

<sup>274</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5,F.252V-253V: Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid; Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5,F.293R-295R: Capitulación con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

"On the situation and surrender" (see Appendix No. 2.7) <sup>275</sup>. A notification of this appointment was also sent on the same day (see Appendix No. 2.3)<sup>276</sup>.

### ***Results of the expedition of 1513***

The following circumstances forced Ponce de Leon to stop the expedition of 1513, turning home:

1) The presence on the ships of the rescued crew of Captain Diego Miruelo made the expedition impossible due to the lack of food and water supplies, not designed for many rescued people;

2) The presence of the rescued crew could also lead to the release of secrets, including the ship's log and the map compiled during the expedition, which could fall into the hands of Captain Miruelo, and after that into the hands of Diego Columbus;

3) The destruction of the capital Caparra by the Caribs with an attack on the family of Ponce de Leon and the destruction of his supporters. This was the most important reason for the completion of the expedition.

The three vessels carried no more than a dozen of the 65 people potentially capable of becoming settlers on Florida land. This amount was clearly not enough to create a real settlement on the shore<sup>277</sup>. Consequently, this expedition was exclusively of a research nature.

In 1514, there was a redistribution of the Indians in favor of the "royalists", which was carried out under the leadership of

<sup>275</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 415,L.1,F.15V-16V: Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>276</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.254R Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León[Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>277</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 59-60.

Rodrigo de Albuquerque, sent by the crown to the West Indies in response to complaints against the actions of the viceroy. This led to the fact that many of the supporters of Diego Columbus lost their Indians. This circumstance aggravated the conflict that was smoldering between the "royalists" and the Columbus administration (see Appendix No. 2.9)<sup>278</sup>.

With a new inevitability, the question arose about the influx of workers from the nearest lands – from the neighboring "useless islands"<sup>279</sup> around Hispaniola and Cuba. A direct consequence of this policy was the expedition of Pedro Salazar, organized in 1514.

His expedition moved north from Cuba and Hispaniola in August 1514<sup>280</sup>. The voyage lasted 8 days<sup>281</sup>. Salazar landed on the coast from the Atlantic Ocean – it was the "Island of Giants" (Island of Giants), associated with the current Cape Fear (Cape Fear) north of Georgia in present-day South Carolina near Georgetown (in Winyah Bay). This was the first documented voyage to the Atlantic coast of the USA<sup>282</sup>.

Pedro de Salazar himself owned 315 acres of land, used the labor of 200 Indians on his encomienda on the island of Hispaniola in the settlements of Santiago, Santo Domingo, Concepcion, as well as in Puerto Plata, where his sugar plantations were. As a result of the new distribution of

<sup>278</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.377R : Repartimiento de indios

[Fecha de creación] 01 de enero 1519, Valladolid.

<sup>279</sup> Путешествия Христофора Колумба: дневники... С. 509.

<sup>280</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery: Pedro de Salazar's Visit to the "Island of Giants" // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1980. Vol. 58, № 4. P. 421.; Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 111.

<sup>281</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 422.

<sup>282</sup> Там же. P. 111.

aborigines on encomiendas, which happened in 1514, Salazar lost the Indians attached to encomiendas in Concepcion and Santo Domingo, remaining with 215 acres of land<sup>283</sup>. After these losses<sup>284</sup>, a team of 12 people was created, the purpose of which was to organize expeditions for Indians to replenish the working forces at encomiendas. This was contrary to the "Laws of Burgas"<sup>285</sup>, which prohibited the use of Indians as slaves<sup>286</sup>, but this practice still existed in Hispaniola, since the Viceroy of the Indies, Diego Columbus, conflicted with King Ferdinand, and their litigation over the "Trials of the Columbians" (Pleitos Colombinos) was still ongoing<sup>287</sup>.

In addition, Pedro de Salazar was hired as a captain by the royal judge Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon (*licenciado Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon*). The wealthy settlers of Hispaniola were interested in this expedition: Lope de Bardeci, Judge Juan Bezerra, Cristobal Guillon, Rodrigo Manzorro and Juan de Samper. The partner of this campaign was also the royal judge Marcelo de Villalobos (*licenciado Marcelo de Villalobos*)<sup>288</sup>.

Pedro de Salazar was the first Spaniard to reach present-day Georgetown in Florida<sup>289</sup>. At the same time, the "giant Indians" were captured by the conquistadors, after whom the

<sup>283</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 417.

<sup>284</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 113.

<sup>285</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 420.

<sup>286</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Бургосские Законы 1512 как прародители "прав чело́в.": обстоятельства и необходимость их принятия и последствия (1512 г.) // Гуманитарный научный Вестник. 2021. № 5. С. 14-21.

<sup>287</sup> Pleitos colombinos. Probanzas del Almirante de las Indias (1512—1515). Sevilla : 1984. p. 458; La herencia de Cristóbal Colón : Estudio y colección documental de los mal llamados pleitos colombinos (1492—1541). Madrid : CSIC-Fundación Mapfre, 2015. С. 3609

<sup>288</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 416-419.

<sup>289</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion... P. 111.

earth (the Island of Giants) was named. These aborigines differed from the Indians of the Bahamas and the Antilles by their unusually tall stature, but they were friendly since they had not yet seen Europeans<sup>290</sup>.

In 1521, Judge Ayllon, who replaced the deceased Ponce de Leon as the adelantado of Florida, stated that "Pedro Salazar was the first to discover land north of the Bahamas, where Francisco Gordillo sent his ship in 1521" <sup>291</sup>. Gordillo was the pilot of Ayllon's ship, and the captain of the other vessel<sup>292</sup>, on which the Indians were taken to Hispaniola was Pedro de Quejo.

In 1526, the trial of Ayllon took place, during which a witness, Jacome de Castellon<sup>293</sup>, noted that Salazar captured about 500 friendly-minded aborigines of tall stature for sale in Hispaniola, but two-thirds of them died on the way due to lack of food.

The remaining Indians were numbered and distributed among the patrons of the expedition, and several of them were given to the sailors as payment. The rest of the Indians were used as slaves on the lands of Pedro de Salazar in Puerto Plata on Hispaniola. These Indians were sold through Judge Ayllon and were quite expensive, as they were physically strong compared to the Taino Indians who lived in Hispaniola<sup>294</sup>.

The monks of the Dominican Order, having learned about the new aborigines brought, intervened in the bidding process, and forbade the sale of giant Indians as a commodity. This case

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<sup>290</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 422.

<sup>291</sup> Там же. P. 422.

<sup>292</sup> Там же. P. 424-426.

<sup>293</sup> Там же. P. 423.

<sup>294</sup> Там же. P. 423.

became widely known and was the basis for evidence of Spanish violence. The defender of the Las Casas Indians has a mention of this case<sup>295</sup>.

### **Conclusion:**

Thus, the discoverer of the modern state of Georgia can be considered Pedro de Salazar. And the trial of those who were engaged in the slave trade by the aborigines of the New World became the basis for claims about the humane policy of the Castilian Crown towards the Indians.

## **1.5. The influence of the unstable situation in Spain on the processes in the New World and on the development of the territory of Florida in 1515-1525.**

The situation in the New World was directly influenced by the events that took place in Spain in 1515-1521.

Many royal officials, led by the leader of the Royalist party, the royal treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte, who had unlimited financial power in the West Indies, appealed to Ferdinand II of Aragon with a request to recall Diego Columbus from office. And in 1515, officials arrived in Hispaniola, who forced Diego Columbus to leave for Spain.

Ferdinand II of Aragon died on January 23, 1516. However, before that, he appointed the Inquisitor of Castile, Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, as regent of his heir, Don Carlos (Charles of Ghent)" <sup>296</sup> to maintain law and order in the kingdom

<sup>295</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан... С. 471.

<sup>296</sup> Дон Карлос или Карл Гентский – он же король королевства Арагон с 1516 года под именем Карла I, а с 1519 года он был избран Императором Священной Империи, после смерти его деда по отцовской



of Castile and throughout the country until the heir arrives"<sup>297</sup>. His illegitimate son, Alonso of Aragon, who was Bishop of Zaragoza, was appointed by the king in his will as regent of the Kingdom of Aragon until the arrival of Don Carlos, invited from Brussels in 1516, Since Carlos was to become king of Aragon, in June 1517. he went to Spain.

Already 6 days after Ferdinand's death, on January 29, Cardinal Cisneros took control of power. To avoid instability in the country, he put under house arrest the possible heir to the throne and the younger brother of Charles - Infante Ferdinand<sup>298</sup>, around whom the opposition was gathering<sup>299</sup>.

From 1516 until the moment when the new king left Flanders for Spain, two centers of power remained: Cardinal Cisneros ruled in the kingdom of Castile, and Carlos and his advisers ruled in Brussels<sup>300</sup>. Cardinal Cisneros' administration of the entire Kingdom of Castile and Leon, as well as the Kingdom of Aragon, lasted from January 1516 to November 1517, when he died. Soon Don Carlos arrived in the kingdom, who was declared King of Aragon under the name of Carlos I on March 14, 1516. However, in order to accept the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, Carlos I went to Dover, leaving Adrian of Utrecht

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линии Максимилиана I. Его отец - Филипп Красивый, мать - Хуана I Кастильская (Хуана Безумная), дед с одной стороны - король Фердинанд II Арагонский - отец Хуаны Безумной, а с другой - император Священной Римской Империи - Максимилиан I. Таким образом была образована Империя Габсбургов.

<sup>297</sup> Лалагуна Х. Испания: история страны... С. 153.

<sup>298</sup> Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530-1558). Congreso internacional, Madrid 3-6 de julio de 2000. T. 2. Madrid, 2001. P. 424.

<sup>299</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи / [пер. с англ.: В. Гончарова]. Москва, 2016. С. 734.

<sup>300</sup> Лалагуна Х. Испания: история страны... С. 153.

(Adrian Florenszoon Buyens van Utrecht) as governor in Castile. In July 1520, the cortes of several cities of the Kingdom of Castile (estate-representative assemblies in Spain of the XVI century) opposed the government of the state by a foreigner, and soon a Holy Junta formed, which formed its own army. Thus began the "comuneros uprising"<sup>301</sup>.

In the maelstrom of these events, which shocked Spain, the struggle between various factions in the West Indies intensified even more and the willfulness of local authorities in the New World intensified.

The revenues of the local administration in the West Indies were controlled by the royal treasurer, whose position was held for a long time by Miguel de Pasamonte, as well as auditors from among the "royalists". It is obvious that it was economically advantageous for local administrations loyal to the House of Columbus to conduct illegal trade – in this case, the income was not taken into account, but went directly into the pocket of the participants. This question still needs careful study, but, in any case, the watershed between the administration of the West Indies and the metropolis pushed the settlers to financial antagonism.

The current situation led to the disruption of economic relations between the metropolis and the West Indies, contributing to the development of illegal trade between the administration of the West Indies and French pirates<sup>302</sup>. This situation further led to the prosperity of illegal trade and piracy

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<sup>301</sup> Ведюшкин В. А. Комунерос восстание // Большая российская энциклопедия. Том 14. Москва, 2009, 718 с.

<sup>302</sup> Ashrafyan K. E. «Silver Age of Piracy»: French pirates in Atlantic in first third XVI century... С. 232–239.

on the part of the French, who mastered the routes of Spanish merchant ships to the Old World<sup>303</sup>.

Taking advantage of the fact that the death of Ferdinand II of Aragon put an end to stability in the state, French pirates began to actively develop illegal trade and attack Spanish ships and settlements in the West Indies. And in 1521 the French invaded Navarre<sup>304</sup>.

At that time, the defender of the Las Casas Indians was in Spain with a petition for the protection of the rights of aborigines and numerous complaints about the arbitrariness of the local administration in the West Indies, which did not execute any orders from Spain. To understand the current events in Hispaniola, Cisneros, as regent of the 16-year-old King Charles, sent his representatives to the island.

From 1516 to 1519, the "power of four" came to the West Indies: Cardinal Alonso de Suazo, who was authorized on behalf of the regent, Cardinal Cisneros, to inspect judges and officials in Hispaniola, and three Hieronymites (Orden de San Gerónimo): Bernardino de Monsacedo, Luis Figueroa, the head of this mission, and Alonso de Santo Domingo from Burgos<sup>305</sup>. The Hieronymites, having familiarized themselves with the state of affairs, decided that with the complete rejection of Indian slavery and the use of their labor in encomiendas, the problem of workers in the West Indies would worsen. On the basis of this,

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<sup>303</sup> Михеев Д. В. Возникновение практики каперства в Англии в XIII-XVI вв. *Метаморфозы истории*. 2013. №4. С. 201-216. Ashrafyan K. E., Koroleva N. E., Pospelova N. V., Achaeva M. S. Interrupted game of England and French Huguenots on the chessboard // *Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana*. 2020. Vol. 25, № Extra 10. P. 242-252.

<sup>304</sup> Лалагуна Х. Испания: история страны... С. 153.

<sup>305</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской... С. 734.

June 22, 1517 they asked permission to send them Negro slaves, "not speaking Spanish directly from Africa"<sup>306</sup>. The demand for the transfer of slaves from Africa was due to the fact that an uprising of black slaves had already taken place in Hispaniola in 1511. They repeated their request on January 18 , 1518 . The same is said in a petition sent to Charles I in the same year by Hieronymite Bernardino de Monsacedo, Luis Figueroa and Alonso de Santo Domingo. Moreover, the latter asked to be allowed to "send an expedition for Negroes to the Green Cape and Guinea and bring them to work"<sup>307</sup> on the sugar plantations of Hispaniola.

Hieronymites received permission to import black slaves and aborigines from nearby islands to the West Indies due to the fact that "there were not enough workers for work"<sup>308</sup>.

After receiving the royal permission to import Indians from nearby islands to Hispaniola, the Spaniards captured 15,000 people, 13,000 of whom died. The survivors were sold as slaves, branded on the face<sup>309</sup>. According to Pedro Martin de Angleria, 40,000 aborigines from the Bahamas were taken to Cuba and Hispaniola for 20 years<sup>310</sup>. This could not but affect the coastal areas of the Florida peninsula and the Indians who inhabited it, who also became a target for attack.

By 1521, the Spanish crown began to talk about the encomienda being a destructive policy for the life of the

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<sup>306</sup> Григулевич И.Р. Крест и меч... С. 311.

<sup>307</sup> Там же. С. 311.

<sup>308</sup> Там же. С. 311.

<sup>309</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 182.

<sup>310</sup> Там же. С. 182-183.

Aborigines. It should be borne in mind that the Spaniards preferred imported slaves, since they were not subject to laws protecting Indians, and this trade continued until the 1530s<sup>311</sup>.

In 1524, the vicar of the Dominicans in Hispaniola, Pedro de Cordova, who demanded equal treatment of the Indians in 1513, and the Dominican Thomas Ortiz, who signed a letter in defense of the Indians in 1516, came to Spain and read a report in the Council of the Indies on the shortcomings of the policy pursued against the aborigines of the New World. After the departure of the Hieronymites in August 1519, Rodrigo de Figueroa (licenciado Rodrigo de Figueroa)<sup>312</sup>. began to perform gubernatorial duties in Hispaniola . He released Indians and Caciques en masse "for a free life" <sup>313</sup>.

However, everything changed when Diego Columbus returned to the West Indies in 1520<sup>314</sup>. As viceroy, he again decided to place his associates in the first positions in order to manage the settlements, began to appoint them to new and former courts, which continued the wave of oppression of the "royalists". Columbus brought back the old practice of capturing Indians from other islands to work on encomiendas and plantations of Hispaniola and Cuba, and also organized the mass importation of black slaves from Africa to work on sugar

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<sup>311</sup> Там же. С. 183-184.

<sup>312</sup> CDI. Madrid, 1864. Т.II, Р. 375.

<sup>313</sup> Там же. Р. 372-379.; Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 196.

<sup>314</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 303.; Ашрафьян К. Э. Гипотеза о неизбежности провала попыток освоения юга полуострова Флорида с 1513 г. по 1525 г. (Глава 8.) // Наука, образование, общество в условиях цифровизации: монография / Под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева. Пенза: Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение» , 2021. С. 143-156.

plantations. For example, July 2, 1527 there is a record that "the main force for work on sugar cane plantations are Negro slaves"<sup>315</sup>. The end of the encomienda policy was proclaimed in a document of the Royal Council in Barcelona only in 1529<sup>316</sup>, and the encomienda was finally abolished by the "New Laws on the good treatment of Indians" adopted in 1542.

It is important to emphasize that the arbitrariness of officials in the New World was so great that no recommendations of the Spanish Crown were implemented. This observation is confirmed by a number of independent investigations conducted in Cuba in 1535 by Juan de Vadilla, judge of the Royal audience of Santo Domingo (settlement on the island of Hispaniola)<sup>317</sup>.

Since January 1516, an unstable period began in the New World, associated with the power that had not finally taken shape. It is important to note that Diego Columbus was in Spain when Cardinal Cisneros dismissed Bishop Fonseca for corruption in the Seville Chamber of Commerce («Casa de Contratación», or "House of Trade"). This decision was supported by the "defender of the Indians" Las Casas, who at the same time arrived in Madrid to Cisneros to complain about working conditions in Cuba and wrote about it to another regent of the 16-year-old King Charles - Adrian of Utrecht. He proposed to get rid of encomienda and forced labor of aborigines forever<sup>318</sup>.

Taking advantage of the moment of anarchy, the ruler of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, who was appointed deputy governor,

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<sup>315</sup> Julian A. El ingenio de Diego Colón y la rebelión de sus esclavos en 1521. // CLIO. 2015. V. 189. P. 8-9.

<sup>316</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов... С. 508.

<sup>317</sup> Там же. С. 203.

<sup>318</sup> Томас Х. Золотой век испанской империи... С. 734.

sent Captain Miruelo, who had already been there, to the north, to the shores of Florida. It was a little-known expedition to capture Indians as "live goods" for work on encomiendas of Cuba<sup>319</sup>.

The expedition's departure took place from Havana, and the landing site was the modern Tampa Bay, which the captain mapped as the Bay of Miruelo (Bahia de Miruelo)<sup>320</sup>. Other names of this place are Espiritu Santo, or Bahia Honda<sup>321</sup>. Until 1993, it was believed in the scientific literature that Miruelo discovered the Bay of Appalachee (Apalachee Bay) and mapped Pensacola Bay (Pensacola Bay)<sup>322</sup>, as well as the coastline of the Florida Peninsula.

The water area, which Diego Miruelo designated as Miruelo Bay, was at that time a border boundary between the warring Indians of the Tocobaga and Calusa tribes. The team recruited by Captain Miruelo for this expedition consisted of the same people as in the expedition sent by Diego Columbus to trace the path of Ponce de Leon's expedition to discover new lands in 1513.<sup>323</sup>

The situation after the death of King Ferdinand II of Aragon<sup>324</sup> gave Diego Velasquez reason to assume that if the open land of Florida was explored and carefully mapped, it would make it possible to annex it under his jurisdiction. This idea

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<sup>319</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 244.

<sup>320</sup> Там же. P. 110, 244.

<sup>321</sup> Залив Тампа обозначался на картах как Bahía de Miruelo и Espiritu Santo ,и Bahía Honda или совр. Залив Тампа (Tampa Bay).

<sup>322</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 244.

<sup>323</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 1-31.

<sup>324</sup> В 1516 г. Карл I в возрасте 16 лет стал королем королевства Арагон и принял другие королевства после смерти его деда - Фердинанда II Арагонского.

would not have caused a protest from the "House of Columbus". Velasquez counted on the fact that Florida had not been settled or thoroughly explored over the years, so Miruelo's expedition could bear fruit.

According to the Russian Americanist Yu. G. Akimov<sup>325</sup>, indirect evidence that Miruelo was engaged in the importation of Indian slaves from Florida can be the charges brought in 1517. Ponce de Leon against the ruler (deputy Governor) of Cuba, Diego Velasquez de Cuellar, and accusing him of illegally capturing and selling 300 Florida Indians. According to Akimov, only Miruelo could bring them to Cuba<sup>326</sup>. These charges clearly indicate that a certain number of Florida aborigines were still brought to Havana during the first quarter of the XVI century.

When Ponce de Leon and the Dominican monks found out about the sale of these Indians, they sued Diego Velasquez. It is this moment that becomes another important factor that caused a new confrontation between the Governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, who has the title of viceroy, and the Adelantado of Florida, Ponce de Leon (see Appendix No. 2.10)<sup>327</sup>.

It was this legal confrontation, caused by a complaint filed with the court from Ponce de Leon and the Dominican monks, that finally blocked any opportunities for any interaction in the development of Florida between the Governor of Florida Ponce de Leon and the governor in Cuba Diego Velasquez.

In light of the aggravation of the problem of the shortage of workers at encomiendas, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, "a

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<sup>325</sup> АКИМОВ Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 58—69.

<sup>326</sup> Там же. С. 65.

<sup>327</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V: Orden a los jerónimos de Indiasл. [Fecha de creación] 22 de julio 1517, Madrid.



rich man who had a settlement with Indians in Cuba" (Cuba is only 150 km away from Florida), agreed with encomienderos Cristobal de Morante and Lope Ochoa de Caicedo on a joint expedition to capture the Indians"<sup>328</sup>. They "hired two ships and one brig" and appealed to the acting Governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, for permission to capture and bring the Indians. Anton de Alaminos from Palos, who had been a pilot with Ponce de Leon in 1513, was hired as the main pilot for this expedition<sup>329</sup>.

Alaminos claimed that Christopher Columbus wanted to find the richest lands back in 1502 but did not have time to do it. Francisco Hernandez de Cordova agreed with Diego Velasquez that "if he discovers any new lands along the way, he can act there at his own discretion and be the governor's deputy in those lands,"<sup>330</sup> like Velasquez in Cuba.

Francisco de Cordova set off on three ships. Thanks to Velasquez's consent, the expedition was not like a raid to capture Indians, but a voyage to discover lands. Cordova "loaded many sheep and pigs onto ships, as well as several mares, in order to breed these animals in new lands"<sup>331</sup>. At the same time, Las Casas described de Cordova as a man who "is very good at catching and killing Indians"<sup>332</sup>.

The expedition left on February 12, 1517 and, caught in a storm, went off course. After 21 days (March 4, 1517), the ships docked at the land located on the northeastern tip of the Yucatan

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<sup>328</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. Глава 96.

<sup>329</sup> Там же. С. 471.

<sup>330</sup> Там же. С. 211.

<sup>331</sup> Там же. С. 211-212.

<sup>332</sup> Там же. С. 212.

Peninsula, in modern Mexico, at Cabo Catoche or Cape Catoche<sup>333</sup>.

Once on Novaya Zemlya, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova decided to explore it<sup>334</sup>. The crew was attacked several times by local Indians (at Cape Catoche, Champoton, etc.), and 56 Spaniards were killed in battles.

Having sailed from the inhospitable Yucatan and returning to Cuba, de Cordova, on the instructions of de Alaminos<sup>335</sup>, turned the ships towards Florida to replenish fresh water supplies and moored to its western shore». In less than an hour, many Indians attacked the Spaniards from land and from the sea in boats" <sup>336</sup>. These, apparently, were the Indians of the Calusa tribe, as Bernard Diaz Del Castillo described them as follows: "Tall, strong, dressed in animal skins, with huge bows, sharp arrows and spears in the manner of swords"<sup>337</sup>, another source says: "... in addition to spears, they had some other that is, objects like swords" <sup>338</sup>.

Twenty-two Indians were killed. Three were captured, and among the Spaniards 6 soldiers were wounded, and one Portuguese was captured by the Indians. The expedition soon returned to the port of Havana, then called Porto de Carenas

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<sup>333</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании = Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España / [сост., новый пер. с исп., коммент., оформление: А. Захарьян. Москва, 2000. С. 16.; Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 212.

<sup>334</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий: [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 212.

<sup>335</sup> Там же. С. 25-27.

<sup>336</sup> Gannon M. The cross in the sand... P. 3-5.

<sup>337</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании... С. 27.

<sup>338</sup> Del Castillo B. D. Véridique histoire de la conquête de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1878. 956 p.

(see Appendix No. 1.9). This raid to capture Indians as slaves was personally financed by the ruler of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, and the planters of the island<sup>339</sup>.

An important point is that, firstly, the land of Yucatan was discovered by chance, due to a storm on the way of the expedition of Francisco de Cordova; and, secondly, the southwest of Florida once again turned out to be an inhospitable place where the Indians again demonstrated their attitude to the newcomers by engaging in a fierce battle with the Spaniards. The aborigines did not want to negotiate, not letting the Spaniards on their land<sup>340</sup>.

Wounded back in Yucatan and for this reason did not even disembark in Florida, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova died on the tenth day after his arrival, never reaching his encomienda<sup>341</sup>. The governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, took full credit for the discovery of Yucatan and sent a message about it to the king in Spain, "without even mentioning those who were there."<sup>342</sup>

In April 1518, navigator Anton de Alaminos in 10 days delivered the expedition of Juan de Grijalva (Juan de Grijalva), which left on four ships, to the island of Cozumel, discovered by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova (see Appendix No. 1.9)<sup>343</sup>.

After 1519, an important task was to delineate the territories that were under the rule of Hernán Cortés (Fernando

<sup>339</sup> Sledge J. S. Spanish Sea." In the Gulf of Mexico: A Maritime History. Columbia, 2019. С. 50-51.

<sup>340</sup> Sledge J. S. Spanish Sea." In the Gulf of Mexico: A Maritime History. Columbia, 2019. С. 50-51.

<sup>341</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История... С. 218.

<sup>342</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании... С. 3-4.

<sup>343</sup> Там же. С. 108.; Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург, 2017. С. 217-236.

Cortés de Monroy y Pizarro Altamirano) and later called New Spain (modern Mexico) and Florida, discovered but not yet explored and settled by Juan Ponce de Leon.

The Governor of Jamaica, Francisco de Garay, became interested in the idea of exploring Florida, expressed by the pilot de Alaminos, who is now in his service. Alaminos considered Florida to be a more massive piece of land than Juan Ponce de Leon had hoped<sup>344</sup>.. The Governor of Jamaica considered it necessary to organize such an expedition that would make it possible to draw up a detailed map, to mark the border between the land of Florida and the territory already occupied by Cortez.

This expedition was entrusted to Alonso Alvarez de Pineda. He was given the task of exploring the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, passing from the shores of present-day Mexico to the Florida Peninsula. Another task was to find the possibility of a sea passage to the Pacific Ocean (see Appendix No. 2. 12)<sup>345</sup>.

The expedition of de Pineda set out on a long journey in March 1519 . The campaign was funded by the personal funds of the Governor of Jamaica Francisco de Garay, it consisted of 4 ships and 270 crew members<sup>346</sup>. The place of exit was Jamaica, and the whole way lay along the Spanish Sea (modern Gulf of Mexico). The route took the following route: Jamaica – Yucatan – Mobile Bay (Mobil Bay) – Mississippi (Río de Espiritu Santo) – then north to the Florida Peninsula, to the modern city of Tampa. As a result, 800 miles of track were mapped (see Appendix No.

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<sup>344</sup> Sledge J. S. Spanish Sea." In the Gulf of Mexico... C. 59.

<sup>345</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15: Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas. [Fecha de creación] 1521, Santo\_Domingo.

<sup>346</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании... С. 173-174.

1.10.). This route passed along the coast of the modern states of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Mississippi. When Alonso Alvarez de Pineda landed in Tampa Bay, he named it Bahia Honda<sup>347</sup>.

On June 2, 1519, on the day of the Spirits, the mouth of the Mississippi River was opened, which was called the River of the Holy Spirit (Río de Espiritu Santo or River of the Holy Spirit)<sup>348</sup>. Pineda described the natives as "kind people" and the place of his landing as "a country where there is gold."<sup>349</sup> Pineda sent one ship with a report to Francisco de Garay, while he remained at the mouth of the Pánuco River (Spanish: Río Pánuco). Pineda's expedition spent 40 days near Panuco trying to establish a settlement. However, the Spaniards were attacked by the Huastec Indians (Mexico)<sup>350</sup>, who burned two ships and sacrificed almost all Spaniards, including Alonso de Pineda. Only 60 Spaniards managed to escape. They fled to the remaining ship and went to Veracruz to join Cortez<sup>351</sup>.

Later, based on maps made by Pineda pilots<sup>352</sup>, the Governor of Jamaica Francisco de Garay also reached modern

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<sup>347</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 244.

<sup>348</sup> Wood J. M. A History of the Catholic Church in the American South 1513-1900. Gainesville, 2011. P. 2.; Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды и начало испанской экспансии в юго-восточной части североамериканского континента в 1510-е годы // Латинская Америка. 2013. Т. 9. С. 67.

<sup>349</sup> Sledge J. S. Spanish Sea. In the Gulf of Mexico... P. 59.

<sup>350</sup> Мешико (Мешика) – это самоназвание астеков, конкретно тех, что вышли из Астлана и основали на озере Тескоко островной город Теночтитлана. Хуастеки, или уастеки – это народ, принадлежащий к самой северной ветви языковой семьи майя, который действительно жил на берегах реки Пануко, а также на северо-восточном побережье Мексиканского залива. Астеки смогли лишь покорить уастеков (Прим. – Калюта А. В.).

<sup>351</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании... С. 173-174.

<sup>352</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 9.

Panuco, where he tried to establish a new settlement<sup>353</sup>. However, shortly after meeting Cortez, he died under mysterious circumstances (see Appendix No. 2.15)<sup>354</sup>. As a result of these expeditions, the so-called Garay map was compiled (see Appendix No. 1.10).

When investigating the circumstances of the organization of the second Ponce de Leon expedition, it was necessary to understand why eight years had passed between the first expedition of 1513 and the second expedition of 1521, although the intensity of the exploration of the New World was quite high.

To do this, we need to briefly consider each of the reasons that could postpone the release of the expedition to explore Florida.

1. Confirmation of the governorship of the Florida and Bimini lands.

Recall that the expedition, which left in 1513 to Florida, was finally completed only in January 1514, when a brigantine with helmsman Anton de Alaminos and captain Perez de Ortuba landed on the island of San Juan, who carried out a successful search for Bimini Island.

In the same year, 1514 . Ponce left for Spain, where in September of the same year a new agreement (capitulation) was concluded for the settlement of Florida. His main goal was to try to force the Aborigines to become "kind and obedient Christians, and then make them work"<sup>355</sup> for themselves. For Juan Ponce de

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<sup>353</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V: Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.

<sup>354</sup> Sledge J. S. Spanish Sea." In the Gulf of Mexico... C. 59.

<sup>355</sup> Browne Ayes J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 44.

Leon, the title of governor of Bimini and Florida was granted – he was even given a family coat of arms (see Appendix No. 1.13). The conditions of colonization turned out to be important, which now had a new starting point – the moment of departure of the future expedition, and not the day of signing the surrender<sup>356</sup>. That is, the rights to land development were assigned to Juan Ponce de Leon, and he could take his time. In turn, he was obliged to deliver 500 colonists to Florida at his own expense for the purpose of settlement.

## 2. The war with the Caribs.

Even before the development of the lands of Florida, Juan Ponce de Leon undertook to solve the important task of eliminating threats to the island of San Juan from the Caribs who destroyed the city of Caparra built by him. For these purposes, funds were allocated from the treasury; in addition, he received the authority of the Captain General of the island of San Juan (see Appendix No. 2. 4, 2.8)<sup>357</sup>.

In 1514, Juan Ponce de Leon led a detachment of three ships sent from Sicily to fight the Caribs (see Appendix No. 2.5)<sup>358</sup>. With these forces, the commander went on a dangerous campaign: in May 1515, passing by the island of Guadeloupe, Ponce de Leon made a landing. Cannibal Caribs attacked the Spaniards and killed almost all the men with poisoned arrows,

<sup>356</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... С. 349.

<sup>357</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.236R-236V Sobre la armada de Juan Ponce de León [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.; Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 415, L.1, F.15V-16V: Orden a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 22 de octubre 1514, Valbuena.

<sup>358</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5, F.245R-245V: Licencia a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid; Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon.... P. 270.

and the women and children were captured. He was unable to repel the captured Spaniards and was forced to move on.

After this act, committed against the will of the crew, Ponce de Leon lost the respect of almost the entire team<sup>359</sup>. In this battle, his famous dog Becerrico, who was the most terrible dog for the Indians and the most famous among the Spaniards of the New World, also died<sup>360</sup>. From May 1515 to 1516, under the terms of a treaty with the Spanish crown, the Adelantado waged war with the Carib Indians<sup>361</sup>.

### 3. The death of Ferdinand II of Aragon.

At the end of 1516, after completing the war with the Caribs, Juan Ponce de Leon returned to Spain, where shortly before that, in January 1516, King Ferdinand II of Aragon died.

In addition, there was a law in the Spanish kingdoms, according to which an official, in the event of resigning the powers of the governor (or other important public office), was obliged to provide a detailed report on the funds spent from the treasury. This was the usual practice of the Crown Courts of Inquiry<sup>362</sup>. Sometimes this led to accusations of excessive spending or embezzlement of the state budget, which threatened prison. Therefore, in 1516, Juan Ponce de Leon had to report on the funds spent during the war with the Caribs in 1514-1516.

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<sup>359</sup> Martir de Angleria P. *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo (Crónicas y Memorias)*. Madrid, 1989. 240 c.; MacNutt F. A. *De Orbe Novo: Vol. 1 (of 2) / Pietro Martire d' Anghiera* ; trans. by Francis Augustus MacNutt. Salt Lake City, 2004. P. 229.

<sup>360</sup> Ober F. A. *Juan Ponce de Leon...* P. 270.

<sup>361</sup> Кофман А.Ф. *Под покровительством Сантьяго...* С. 383.

<sup>362</sup> Merás G. S. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida...* P. 431.



It is known that this was done from a receipt for the return of all state property<sup>363</sup>. The main thing was the confirmation of his exclusive right to settle Florida and the status of the governor of Florida by the new king, 16-year-old Charles, and his regents. Juan Ponce de Leon expected this moment from the end of 1516 to the middle of 1518. He could not leave Spain earlier, since the regent of the new king, Cardinal Cisneros, could not solve this issue on his own. It was necessary to wait for the young King Charles, who arrived with the court only in 1517. Since the king had been familiarizing himself with the affairs of governing Spain for some time, Juan Ponce de Leon received confirmation of his rights to Florida only in 1518 and only after that was able to return home.

#### 4. Death of a spouse and family problems.

In 1519, the wife of Ponce de Leon, Leonora Ponce de Leon (another name is Leonora Troche Ponce de Leon)<sup>364</sup>, who gave birth to his son and three daughters, died<sup>365</sup>. As Adelantado himself wrote in a letter to Charles V, he "could not leave his daughters and go to Florida until he married them off."<sup>366</sup> It took time and turned out to be the last delay.

To understand the current situation, it is necessary to take into account a number of objective points: Juan Ponce de Leon financed both expeditions to Florida from his personal funds, while money from the royal treasury was not spent<sup>367</sup>. This means

<sup>363</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго... С. 350.

<sup>364</sup> Browne Ayes J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 39.

<sup>365</sup> Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург, 2017. С. 350.

<sup>366</sup> Там же. С. 383.; Browne Ayes J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon: His New and Revised Genealogy. Morrisville, 2010. P. 39.

<sup>367</sup> Browne Ayes J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 41-46.

that he hired a crew on his own, bought ships, horses and food supplies for many months ahead, taking into account the construction of a settlement on Florida land. The only thing he didn't have to worry about was the weapons for his men, because they themselves had to bear the costs of armament and armor.

But Juan Ponce de Leon had to buy iron and hire a blacksmith to repair the weapon in case of a breakdown. He also had to hire sailors who had to be experienced in maritime affairs, as well as carpenters to repair ships in case they hit a shoal or coral reefs<sup>368</sup>..

To organize the second expedition to Florida, Juan Ponce de Leon spent 6,000 pesos through his representative Pedro de Mata. Purchases of ships and everything necessary were made in Hispaniola, in the port of Salvaleón de Higüey, from where they arrived in San Germán. The supplies were loaded on San Juan<sup>369</sup>.

The expedition took place on two ships, which accommodated 200 people, 50 horses<sup>370</sup>, as well as "calves, pigs, sheep and goats and all kinds of domestic animals useful for human service"<sup>371</sup>. Plant seeds and tools for cultivating the land, as well as firearms, were taken with them. This expedition did not have a chronicler, but had one priest<sup>372</sup>, and, according to other sources, one priest and one monk<sup>373</sup> to convert the Indians to Christianity and to establish a mission<sup>374</sup>.

<sup>368</sup> Там же. P. 40.

<sup>369</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida... P. 28.

<sup>370</sup> Там же P. 29.

<sup>371</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 23-24.

<sup>372</sup> Gannon M. The cross in the sand... P. 3.

<sup>373</sup> Существует два вида священников – так называемые Светские священники (secular priests), и другие – епархиальные (diocesan) или рядовые священники (regular priests). В данном случае были епархиальные священники regular priests.

<sup>374</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 29.

The expedition left on February 26, 1521 from San Herman (San Germán) <sup>375</sup>. Before sailing, on February 10, 1521, Juan Ponce de Leon wrote a letter to the Emperor Charles V<sup>376</sup>. And on February 15, 1521, he wrote to the Bishop of Tortosa (see Appendix No. 2.13), the future Pope Adrian VI (Adrian Florenzoon Buyens van Utrecht) that he was going to return to the islands he had discovered to settle them<sup>377</sup>.

The expedition itself followed the same route as the expedition in 1513<sup>378</sup>. The landing of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon on the land of Florida allegedly took place near the current harbor of Charlotte Harbor <sup>379</sup>. This land belonged to the Calusa Indians. Ponce de Leon took a Dominican monk with him and, having gone ashore, began to build houses and a chapel near the harbor<sup>380</sup>.

It is important to note that from February 26, 1521, when the expedition began, until June 1521, the settlers led by Ponce de Leon lived under constant attacks from the Calusa Indians. Today it is impossible to specify exactly where these events took place, since no evidence has been found due to the fact that there was a profound change in the coastline of the western part of south Florida. The entire coastal strip in the XX century turned out to be in the construction zone of the strategic road No. 41 (Tamiami Trail), so when laying it, no one paid attention to many artifacts, and they were destroyed. It is clear that the

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<sup>375</sup> Там же. P. 28.

<sup>376</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days... P. 604.

<sup>377</sup> Browne Ayes J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 41.

<sup>378</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 28-29.

<sup>379</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days. Book 1. 1521-1763. New York, 1886. P. 103.

<sup>380</sup> Там же. P.103.

landing took place in a convenient bay so that both ships participating in the expedition were near the settlement all the time.

Since there was no chronicler on this expedition, there is practically no information left about it. However, Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo y Valdes (chronicler Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes) was able to describe the battle with the local Indians of the Calusa tribe. Since the settlers were constantly attacked by Indians, Juan Ponce Leon and the colonists were forced to regularly raid deep into Florida. One day, "Ponce went far from the settlement and was ambushed <sup>381</sup>" where the Spaniards were attacked by "tall Indians" of the Calusa tribe "with one and a half meter bows, whose forces far exceeded his small detachment" <sup>382</sup>.

Many Spaniards were then killed, and Juan Ponce de Leon was mortally wounded in the thigh by a stone arrow. His nephew was also seriously injured and died on the ship and was buried at sea<sup>383</sup>.

Only one ship returned from this expedition to Cuba to the port, which then became known as Havana<sup>384</sup>. There were many wounded Spaniards on board, including Ponce de Leon himself. The second ship sailed to Mexico, to the conquistador Hernando Cortez who was there. The settlement in Florida was abandoned<sup>385</sup>.

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<sup>381</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León ... P. 29.

<sup>382</sup> Там же. P. 29.

<sup>383</sup> Там же, P. 29.

<sup>384</sup> Там же, P. 29.

<sup>385</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days... P. 103.

In July 1521, Juan Ponce de Leon died in Havana<sup>386</sup>, Cuba, from a wound received in Florida<sup>387</sup>. At that time there were no medicines for blood poisoning and gangrene, except for amputation and cauterization, and besides, Ponce de Leon could develop sepsis from the wound, which could not be cured. However, questions remain. Why did he die in Cuba, and who treated him there? How were those who treated him related to Governor Diego Velasquez or Diego Columbus, what were their qualifications?

Before he died, Adelantado gave instructions to his confidant that the ships and goods were transported to New Spain, where there was a great need for it, and sold there, and he bequeathed the money to his heirs<sup>388</sup>.

However, the ruler of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, colluded with the recipient of the goods in Havana, confiscated Juan Ponce de Leon's ship and sold the goods to New Spain himself, and appropriated the money for himself.

At the same time, Ponce de Leon's will to transfer the inheritance to his children on the island of San Juan was ignored (see Appendix No. 2.14)<sup>389</sup>.

The second ship of Ponce de Leon headed for New Spain to Hernando Cortez, who was in opposition to Diego Velasquez and the entire "House of Columbus".

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<sup>386</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 29.

<sup>387</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 68.

<sup>388</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 29.

<sup>389</sup> Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V: Justicia sobre los bienes del adelantado Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 07 de marco 1523, Valladolid.

The body of Juan Ponce de Leon was exhumed by his second grandson in Cuba and transported to the city of San Juan in 1559<sup>390</sup>, where it was buried first in the Church of St. Thomas, and then, in 1913, in the Cathedral of San Juan.

The choice of the landing site of Ponce de Leon on the west coast of Florida in 1521 turned out to be fatal, although it is explained by the presence of both a convenient harbor in Charlotte Bay and the hope of finding gold in Florida. At the first contacts with the expedition in 1513, the Indians brought gold jewelry (guanines)<sup>391</sup> for exchange, which aroused such interest. However, not far from the landing site of the Spanish expedition was Mound Key, the central settlement of the Calusa Indians<sup>392</sup>. In addition, Indians who fled from the Antilles and the Bahamas<sup>393</sup> also settled in the same places. It is these circumstances that explain the incessant attacks of the Indians on the settlement of the Spaniards and the reluctance to enter into trade relations with them.

After Juan Ponce de Leon was wounded by the Calusa Indians in Florida in 1521 and died of his wounds in Cuba, the place of the Adelantado of Florida became vacant. In accordance with this, no one had the rights to settle the land of Florida. Therefore, the royal judge in Hispaniola, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, decided that he could apply for the position of governor of Florida. To do this, he had to provide data on these lands,

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<sup>390</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 29.

<sup>391</sup> Там же. P. 29.

<sup>392</sup> From Shell Midden to Midden-Mound: The Geoarchaeology of Mound Key, an Anthropogenic Island in Southwest Florida / USA. PLOS ONE. 2016. Vol. 11, № 4. URL: <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0154611>

<sup>393</sup> Turner S. Juan Ponce de León... P. 31.

preparing expeditions for the settlement of Florida. As mentioned earlier, in 1514 Ayllon had already organized Pedro de Salazar's expedition to Florida to capture Indians for their sale and use in work on the encomiendas of Hispaniola. With this experience, Ayllon quickly organized and financed a reconnaissance expedition to the shores of Florida to choose a place for a future colony<sup>394</sup>.

In 1521, Ayllon was equipped with an expedition led by Captain Francisco Gordillo (Francisco Gordillo) in order to explore Florida, finding the right bay. Apparently, this expedition reached Georgetown, where the expedition of Pedro de Salazar had previously taken place. At the same time, another ship, the ship of Judge Matienzo from Hispaniola, who belonged to the supporters of the "House of Columbus", was also heading for the coast of Florida with the usual task of capturing Indians for sale as slaves. Captain Gordillo's crew, sent by the Royal Judge Ayllon, met Judge Mathienzo's ship, led by Captain Pedro Quejo. And then both ships went on the same course.

Already on June 25, the expedition discovered the mouth of the St. John the Baptist River<sup>395</sup>, which was immediately mapped. Although Captain Gordillo intended to establish trade relations with the aborigines, under the influence of Captain Pedro Quejo, he also decided to participate in the attack on the Indians. Both ships were able to capture many Indians for sale and soon came with them to Hispaniola. An audacious pirate raid to capture Indians into slavery was recorded in a number of documents of

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<sup>394</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 112.

<sup>395</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days... P. 106.

that time, and this case became known to the public and to King Charles V.

Such excesses occurred with the connivance of Diego Columbus, who returned to the New World in 1520, who in every way prevented the organization of the expedition by Ponce de Leon. Sending any ships to capture Indians off the coast of Florida violated the rights of the latter as the Adelantado of Florida until 1521.

After learning about the expedition to Florida in 1521, organized by the "royalist" Ayllon, Diego Columbus decided to use this moment for political purposes and demanded that Ayllon immediately release the Indians. Thus, Diego Columbus went to the trick, directing their own weapons against his enemies. Back in 1512, the junta of Burgos condemned Diego Columbus himself "for the cruel treatment of Indians," and now he was judging enemies. The Royal Judge Ayllon was accused of mistreatment of the aborigines and was forced to release the Indians. It is not known where the freed Indians disappeared, but another judge whose ship participated in the illegal seizure of slaves – Judge Matienzo – ignored the decrees and took the Indians to work on the encomiendas of Hispaniola, which he got away with, since he belonged to the party of the "House of Columbus"<sup>396</sup>.

What important facts about the land and tribes of Florida were obtained during the expeditions of 1513 and 1521?

Witnesses at the trial against Ayllon in 1526 testified that the Indians brought in 1521 from the expedition by captains Quejo and Gordillo were much taller and stronger than the

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<sup>396</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church... P. 104–106.



Indians of the Bahamas and Caribbean Islands<sup>397</sup>. One of these aborigines converted to Christianity and later traveled to Spain with Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. This Indian talked about the island of Boinca, or in another way - Aganeo, located 325 leagues from Hispaniola. The Indian swore that his father, being at an advanced age, bathed there in the "Fountain of Youth" and started a family again. The whole court of the emperor heard this story<sup>398</sup>.

Comparing the dates of the landing of the expeditions of Gordillo and Juan Ponce de Leon in 1521, it is possible to conclude that at that time Ponce de Leon was either in Florida, trying to establish the first settlement, or was already mortally wounded in Cuba in the port of Principe (modern Havana). He died only in July 1521, and the Gordillo expedition took place in June of the same year, and already on June 25 the crew reached the place of St. John the Baptist (St. John the Baptist) and put this place on the map<sup>399</sup>. But even if we assume that Ponce de Leon was dying, the expedition sent by Ayllon was legally illegal. Moreover, if Adelantado landed with an expedition in the southwest of the Florida peninsula, then Gordillo landed in the northeast of the peninsula.

The witness's stories about the existence of the "Fountain of Youth" (see Appendix No. 1.31) and about the amazing land led to the fact that on June 12, 1523, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon received a patent for three years for the purpose of settling Florida and permission to explore 800 leagues around the first colony. The judge also received the rank of adelantado of Florida.

<sup>397</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 422.

<sup>398</sup> Martir de Angleria P. Décadas del Nuevo Mundo... C. 610.

<sup>399</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 111-112.

In addition, he was obliged to convert the Aborigines to Catholicism<sup>400</sup>. It should be noted that this was facilitated by the recall of Diego Columbus to Spain in 1523 due to active actions against the "royalists".

Travels for the "giant Indians", first by Pedro de Salazar, and then by Quejo and Gordillo in 1521, gave rise to the legend of the "rich country of Chikora", replete with rare trees, pearls, and possibly silver and gold. This contributed to the fact that the historian Pedro Martyr de Angleria consolidated this information in his books "about the wonderful land"<sup>401</sup>, after which the desire to own this land appeared not only from Spain, but also from France and England. And soon the wishes were realized.

The piratical and illegal trading activities of Jean Ango's large French merchant fleet at the beginning of the XVI century became an important factor in enriching the "House of Columbus" and dividing the interests of Spanish society in the New World. The development of illegal trade and piracy has taken on a huge scale.

In 1522, the French pirate Jean Fleury, captain of one of the 70 ships of the Norman merchant flotilla Jean Ango<sup>402</sup>, attacked three Spanish galleons sailing from the New World. It happened near the Azores, and as a result of a surprise attack, two of the three ships were captured by pirates. On these ships there were treasures of the Aztec Indians in the form of silver and gold

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<sup>400</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church... P. 106Ю

<sup>401</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 111-112.

<sup>402</sup> Graveir Gabriel. Jean Ango Viconte de Dieppe. Rouen. 1903. 38 p. ; Daniels, G. C. Le Moyne's Florida Indians. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130930083354/http://thenewworld.us/le-moynes-florida-indians>.

worth 200,000 ducats<sup>403</sup>, as well as exotic animals such as jaguars<sup>404</sup>. All this was the royal crown of all the booty captured by the Spaniards at the fall of Tenochtitlan<sup>405</sup>.

Thanks to spies in the Spanish government, as well as foreign sailors in the Spanish navy, the voyage became known in November 1521. Thanks to this, Fleury learned in advance about the release of the treasure cargo and prepared an ambush. Returning back to the French Dieppe, the pirate Fleury captured another Spanish ship sailing from Hispaniola to Spain with 20,000 pesos, gold, pearls, hides and other goods<sup>406</sup>. After returning, the pirates laid out their loot in front of Jean Ango, the owner of the entire fleet of merchant ships based in Dieppe. After that, Ango presented rich gifts to King Francis I of France and Admiral of France<sup>407</sup>.

The captured treasures aroused the envy of King Francis, showing the potential of owning colonies in a New World. It was after this that the King of France brought piracy to the level of state policy, beginning the "Silver Age" of piracy in the Atlantic<sup>408</sup>. Soon Ango sent ships to the Azores to intercept Spanish galleons, as well as a whole flotilla to the shores of the

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<sup>403</sup> Clark M.R., Marquardt W.H. The Archaeology of Pineland: A Coastal Southwest Florida Site Complex, A.D. 50-1710. Gainesville, 2012. P. 16.

<sup>404</sup> Там же. P. 651-665.

<sup>405</sup> Некоторые пишут, что это была вторая часть сокровищ Монтесумы. Однако сокровища правителя ацтеков, Монтесумы, исчезли еще в ночь печали 20 июня 1520 года, когда испанцы бежали из Теночтитлана.

<sup>406</sup> Clark M.R., Marquardt W.H. The Archaeology of Pineland... P. 21.

<sup>407</sup> Там же. P. 21.

<sup>408</sup> Ashrafyan K. E. «Silver Age of Piracy»: French pirates in Atlantic in first third XVI century. // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 9, № 4 (33). С. 232—239.

West Indies for raiding ships and plundering the lands of America<sup>409</sup>.

The predatory seizure of treasures turned into a point of rapid growth of piracy, as the news of the captured wealth became widely known in all European countries. The French, who had a large merchant fleet, were the first to see the benefits of privateering and illegal trade in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

From that moment on, the French king Francis I demanded "freedom of the Seas and Oceans" and refused to recognize the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, which divided the world between Portugal and Spain. At the same time, he sought in every possible way to prevent the trade of the New World with Europe and even tried to seize part of the territories of the West Indies. These events took place against the background of the Italian wars, in which Spain and France were irreconcilable opponents.

It was at this time that a native of Florence, Giovanni Verrazano<sup>410</sup>, asked to serve the King of France (*in various sources he is referred to as Jean Verrassenne, Geovanni da Verrazano, Verrazzano, Jean le Florentino, Jean le Florentin, Jean Florin*)<sup>411</sup>. The shipowner Jean Ango agreed to provide Verrazano with four ships for the discovery of new lands by order of King Francis I. However, Ango demanded that Verrazano first capture

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<sup>409</sup> Beck Jr. R. A. Identifying Fort San Juan: a sixteenth-century Spanish occupation at the Berry Site, North Carolina. URL: <http://www.tulane.edu/~crodning/beckmoorerodning 2006.pdf>

<sup>410</sup> Веррацано также может писаться как Верразано. Его путали с капитаном из той же флотилии нормандца-француза и судовладельца – Анго, которого звали Жан Флери. Однако итальянский историк Луиджи Просперо Перагелло в начале XX в. опроверг гипотезу о том, что Жан Флери и Джованни да Веррацано — это одно и то же лицо.

<sup>411</sup> Ashrafyan K. E. «Silver Age of Piracy»... С. 232-239.

the Spanish ships and escort them to the city of Dieppe<sup>412</sup>, than he could pay for the rental of ships for his expedition to America. And Verrazano performed the piratical act required of him – he captured and escorted Spanish ships to Dieppe<sup>413</sup>.

At the same time, during a storm, Captain Verrazano lost two ships transferred to him by the shipowner. This fact explains why Verrazano had only two ships during the expedition to America instead of the four requested ships.

First, he decides to get to the Portuguese possessions in Brazil. However, on March 27 and April 25, 1523, the Portuguese ambassador to France sent two letters<sup>414</sup> to the King of Portugal stating that "Juan Verrazano, who was born and lived in Florence, offered to find a way to the Indian Ocean through America to King Francis I of France in order to open the eastern lands for France."<sup>415</sup> In the same letter, he wrote that in Normandy there are several fleets of ships that are preparing to occupy the lands of Brazil. This letter disrupted Verrazano's plans to find land near Brazil, and he set course for Spanish Florida<sup>416</sup>.

On January 17, 1524, the expedition of Florentine Giovanni Verrazano under the French flag sailed on two ships (one of them was called "Dauphin") to the New World. The landing site was Cape Fear on the territory of Spanish Florida, the territory of the

<sup>412</sup> Graveir Gabriel. Jean Ango Viconte de Dieppe. Rouen. 1903. P.38.

<sup>413</sup> Там же. P.14; Ashrafyan, K. E. «Silver Age of Piracy»age: French pirates in Atlantic in first third XVI century. // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 9, № 4 (33). С. 232-239.

<sup>414</sup> Murphy H. C. The voyage of Verrazzano: a chapter in the early history of maritime discovery in America. New York, 1875. P. 141.

<sup>415</sup> Gaffarel P. Le corsaire Jean Fleury. Rouen, 1902. P. 9-10.

<sup>416</sup> Там же. P. 26.

Guale Indians<sup>417</sup>. After a short stop, Verrazano continued along the coast to the north, reaching the coast of present-day North Carolina and Pamlico Sound Lagoon, which he mistook for the strait between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The expedition returned to French Dieppe on July 8, 1524 (see Appendix No. 1.11).

The Verrazano expedition allowed France, represented by King Francis I, to claim its "rights to discovery", although this invasion of the territory of Spanish Florida<sup>418</sup> had no legal force. In addition, as a result of a geographical error, an inaccurate map of America was compiled, which, nevertheless, was considered correct until the XVIII century<sup>419</sup> (see Appendix No. 1.12). Meanwhile, the claims of Francis I were dictated by the fact that Pope Clement VII (Florentine Giuliano de' Medici) sided with France in 1524. In essence, this meant a new division of the world with the destruction of the old borders and treaties. Now the possessions of Spanish Florida were limited from the north by the modern Cape of Fear, as well as open lands that were on the "wrong map"<sup>420</sup> compiled by Verrazano (see Appendix No. 1.1).

Having received the post of governor of Florida on June 12, 1523, along with permission to organize an expedition<sup>421</sup>, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon was detained because of lawsuits started against him by Diego Columbus and Judge Matienzo loyal to him.

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<sup>417</sup> Копелев Д. Н. Раздел океана в XVI-XVIII вв.: истоки и эволюция пиратства. Санкт-Петербург, 2013. С. 39-40.

<sup>418</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 143.

<sup>419</sup> Там же. P. 143.

<sup>420</sup> Копелев Д. Н. Раздел океана в XVI-XVIII вв.... С. 41-42; 49.

<sup>421</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days... P. 106.

Although, as mentioned earlier, the ship of Matienzo himself participated in 1521 in the discovery of the St. John with the capture of local Indians, which is confirmed by the documents on the expedition of Francisco Gordillo and Pedro de Quejo<sup>422</sup>. This case was connected with the continuation of the "Columbus Trials" that continued between Diego Columbus and the Spanish Crown for the legal justification of the rights to own open lands in the New World from 1492 to 1541.

These trials only intensified the confrontation between the Spanish crown and the "House of Columbus", directly affecting the expeditions to Florida from 1513 to 1525. Therefore, in order not to waste time, Judge Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon sent Captain Pedro de Quejo at the head of two vessels in 1525 to explore the region in detail<sup>423</sup>.

The expedition left in May 1525 on two ships and followed the following route<sup>424</sup>: after reaching Cape Fear, the expedition went south in search of a bay suitable for landing, and then reached St. Simons Strait and further south to Amelia Island, after which the ships ascended to the Chesapeake Bay, from where Captain Kaho returned via Bahamas to Hispaniola<sup>425</sup> (see Appendix No. 1.11). The Gulf of Vigna was previously visited by Pedro de Salazar and Captain Gordillo, as well as by Quejo himself in 1521.

Pedro de Quejo's expedition explored 700 miles of Spanish Florida. Stone crosses with the name of Charles V<sup>426</sup>. were

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<sup>422</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 415–426.

<sup>423</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 112.

<sup>424</sup> Там же. P. 112.

<sup>425</sup> Там же. P. 112

<sup>426</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days. Book 1. 1521—1763. New York, 1886. P. 106.

installed at the landing sites . At the same time, Captain Kaho wisely distributed gifts to the Indians, including fabrics and seeds of Spanish crops with instructions for their cultivation<sup>427</sup>.

### **1.6. The consequences of the expeditions of 1513-1525 and the "closure" of the south of the Florida Peninsula for the Spaniards**

One of the most important issues was the issue of the Spanish Florida border "de jure".

After the discovery of Florida and other islands in 1513-1514, Ponce de Leon left San Juan, going to Spain. There he, according to Las Casas, "began to ask the king to grant him, as a reward for the discovery of a new land, the title of adelantado of the Bimini land and the governor's power on this land, and he undertakes to settle it himself at his own expense; being a man experienced in such matters, he asked for various other privileges and privileges, I do not know how; and all this was granted to him."<sup>428</sup>

Recall that on September 27, 1514, an agreement was signed between the Castilian Crown and Juan Ponce de Leon (Asiento con Juan Ponce de León) (See Appendix No. 2.17), which confirmed the powers of Ponce de Leon and granted him the rights to settle Florida (Appendix No. 2.7)<sup>429</sup>. Las Casas narrates that Ponce de Leon returned "... from Castile showered

<sup>427</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians... P. 112.

<sup>428</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий: [сокр.] пер. с испан... С. 89.

<sup>429</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 68.



with favors, with the title of adelantado and governor of the land of Bimini, which he also called Florida, and we now also call Florida, although we call by this name the whole earth and the entire sea coast from the large cape discovered by Ponce de Leon to the land of Baccalieu (*Baccalieu island by Conception Bay in Newfoundland – K.A.*) otherwise called Labrador, which is near the island of England». <sup>430</sup>

This passage illustrates that Spanish Florida "de jure" occupied vast lands from Labrador to Florida (see Appendix No. 1.1.).

As a result of the expedition of Captain Pineda and the subsequent expedition of the Governor of Jamaica Francisco Garay in 1519, an important map of Garay was compiled (see Appendix No. 1.10.). This map already showed the mainland of America with the transition of the Yucatan Peninsula to the Florida Peninsula and depicted almost the exact outlines of the Gulf of Mexico ("Spanish Sea"). And, what is important for us, there is no strait to the Pacific Ocean on the map of Garay<sup>431</sup>. It also shows the Mississippi River and other rivers of New Spain up to Florida, as well as the fact that Florida is not an island, but a narrow-elongated peninsula<sup>432</sup>.

The large Panuco River, which was reached by Captain Pineda with the expedition of Governor Francisco de Garay, in 1519 marked the border to the lands claimed by Hernando

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<sup>430</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий: [сокр.] пер. с испан... С. 89.

<sup>431</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды и начало испанской экспансии в юго-восточной части североамериканского континента в 1510-е годы // Латинская Америка. 2013. Т. 9. С. 68.

<sup>432</sup> Gannon M. The cross in the sand... P. 210.

Cortes<sup>433</sup>.. Thus, Ponce de Leon was legally able to claim the entire territory called Florida, which was now bounded from the west by the Panuco River and went east to the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, which at that time was called the North Sea (Mar del Norte)<sup>434</sup>.

It is important to note that Garay's map had one significant drawback: inaccurate coordinates distorted the size of the territories, which had disastrous consequences for many future expeditions.

By 1525 Spanish Florida occupied the territory from the south of the Florida Peninsula to Cape Fear in the north of the American continent and even to the Chesapeake Bay between the future states of Virginia and Maryland, except for the land to Cape Breton, discovered by Verrazano earlier (see Appendix No. 1.1).

Thus, Spanish Florida, which, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, stretched "de jure" from the North Pole to Darien and from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, was in a short time (from 1519 to 1523) cut off from the west by the territory claimed by Hernando Cortes.

The section along the Panuco<sup>435</sup> River between Florida and New Spain was not yet clearly drawn up. And the restrictions of Spanish Florida from the north were supported by Pope Clement

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<sup>433</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды...С. 67.; Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании = Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España / [сост., новый пер. с исп., коммент., оформление: А. Захарьян. Москва, 2000. С. 173-174.

<sup>434</sup> Акимов Ю. Г. Открытие Флориды... С. 67-68.

<sup>435</sup> По другой версии, границей была река Святого Духа (Rio de Espirito Santo or River of the Holy Spirit) [Francis, 2011, p. 2] – это нынешняя Миссисипи), которая была составлена лоцманами убитого индейцами Алонсо де Пинеды в 1518 г. после появления карты Гарая.

VII, who approved the expeditions of the Florentine pirate Giovanni Verrazano under the French flag.

One of their most important problems was the development of piracy in the New World in the first quarter of the XVI century.

As noted earlier, the French King Francis I was greatly impressed by the treasures he saw, captured by the pirating captains of the shipowner Jean Ango and provided to him. He demanded "freedom of the Sea-Ocean", providing official cover for piracy in the ports of his country. By these actions, Francis I helped create the conditions for the emergence of the "Silver Age of Piracy" in the Atlantic at the beginning of the XVI century. and the destruction of all norms of international law.

Unwilling to share income with the Spanish crown and loyal to Diego Columbus, the highest stratum of the administration in the West Indies, in turn, promoted the development of illegal trade, buying black slaves and goods from Europe from French pirates at low prices. The impunity of these actions by the local administration in the New World was explained by the fact that officials had close family ties with governors, judges and heads of settlements throughout the West Indies - they were bound by mutual responsibility.

If you look at the problem as a whole, it becomes clear that the confrontation in Spain and the New World between the "House of Columbus" and the crown led to the development of illegal trade in African black slaves and goods from Europe by the French, who robbed and destroyed Spanish and Portuguese ships all the way from the New World to Europe and back. The robbery showed that official trade, with its obtaining licenses,

official documents, payment and compliance with all official tax fees, was extremely unprofitable compared to piracy.

All these circumstances pushed the Spaniards to develop Florida as a springboard, which would become a strategically important point on the trade routes between Europe and America. The ships loaded with gold were en route to Spain through the strait between the Florida Peninsula and the Bahamas. As a result, there was an urgent need to build a number of protected settlements in Florida with intermediate ports to counteract French pirates. Thus, a small peninsula in the sea would turn into the most important point of the new colonization of the vast expanses of Spanish Florida.

It should be noted the difference in attitudes towards the Spaniards of the Indians of the west and south coast of Florida.

Based on the analysis of sources, it can be concluded that the Indians of Florida from the Atlantic coast above the modern city of San Augustine were quite peaceful - they made contact with the Spaniards, unlike the Indians of the south of the peninsula. Meanwhile, it was in the south of Florida that migrants from the Antilles and the Bahamas were concentrated<sup>436</sup>. It is not surprising that a powerful hotbed of ideological and military opposition to the Spaniards arose here, which forced the "hunters for live goods" to avoid these territories. Moreover, the Florida coast was controlled by a union of Indians led by the Calusa tribe.

Therefore, further expeditions to capture natives for work on *encomiendas* in the West Indies began to circle Florida from

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<sup>436</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. C. 172.

the Atlantic side, expanding knowledge about the coastline of this part of North America.

What were the consequences of the closure of the south of the Florida Peninsula for Spain's exploration of the New World?

It must be said that the Spanish ships following from the New World along the "Florida Current" (Gulf Stream) to Spain often perished due to sudden storms and hurricanes, as well as due to extensive sand shoals and rocky islands (see Appendix No. 1.14). Consequently, the absence of settlements in Florida led to the loss of both people and cargo, which periodically washed up on the shores of southern Florida. There were no funds here to repair ships in distress.

The urgent need to establish settlements on the shores of Florida was dictated by the following circumstances:

- 1) Due to the lack of settlements on the territory of Florida, further development and exploration by the Spaniards of the interior of Spanish Florida was stopped in order to search for gold and silver deposits for the metropolis. Thus, the possible financial profits received by both Spain and Rome were lost.

- 2) The widespread piracy by the French could be stopped by intercepting their pirate ships between Florida and Cuba, and the ongoing confrontation between the "House of Columbus" and the Castilian Crown led only to the rapid development of illegal trade with pirates in the New World.

- 3) It was also necessary to further study Florida for the possibility of establishing a waterway along rivers, through Indian lands from the eastern side of Florida to the present city of San Augustine or to the St. John River on the Atlantic coast, in

order to pass the Bahama Channel and the cape of the Florida Peninsula, which is disastrous for ships.

***Conclusion.***

Thus, around the discovery in 1513 and the development of Florida from 1513 to 1525, there were important objective conditions that did not allow the development of the land. They were connected with the internal struggle of the Castilian Crown and local authorities in the West Indies for control over the actual, legal and financial management of them; the introduction of the encomienda system on new lands, which caused a rapid decline in the population of aborigines and forced them to flee to neighboring islands; the struggle of Christian orders with each other for methods of Christianization of aborigines and their place in society; The rapid development of illegal trade and piracy by France in the Caribbean Islands region due to the development of southern Florida. All these circumstances directly influenced the sabotage of attempts by local authorities to develop Florida, which was an important obstacle to the success of any expedition for necessary and vital resources – financial, material and human, etc. The confrontation of the interests of the metropolis and the local administration cut off the way to any support for any expedition from the opposing sides, and this situation persisted throughout the time under consideration.

## **Глава 2. Племена юга полуострова Флорида**

### **2.1. Settlement of the tribes of southern Florida on the basis of documents of the Spaniards of the XVI century.**

In the memoirs of the Spaniard Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, who lived among the Indians of southern Florida<sup>437</sup> from 1551 to 1566, more than 80 chiefs who ruled Indian settlements in the region are named. In the course of the study, the original texts were studied – five Fontaneda documents discovered by the American scientist D. Worth<sup>438</sup> and stored in the General Archive of the Indies. These documents were translated into Russian<sup>439</sup> (see Appendix No. 2.1.) and maps of the approximate settlement of aborigines were compiled based on them (see Appendix No. 1.24, 1.25).

Since 1513 the Spaniards (with the exception of the little-studied landing of Ponce de Leon in 1521) bypassed the south of the Florida peninsula, they could not penetrate deep into the territory of the peninsula below the modern Tampa Bay. Therefore, it is necessary to present here all the settlements mentioned by Fontaneda, describing the most significant tribes

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<sup>437</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Земли индейцев Флориды в середине XVI в.... С. 107–111.

<sup>438</sup> Worth J. E. Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida // *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. 1995. Т. 73, № 3. Р. 339–352.; Он же. *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast*. Gainesville, 2016. Р. 43–86.

<sup>439</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Исчезнувшие племена Флориды как актуальный вопрос современной науки и образования: необходимость выхода из забвения знаний об истории американских народов «досеминольской эпохи» URL: <https://naukaip.ru/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/МОН-161.pdf> ; Ашрафьян К. Э. История переводов «Мемуаров» и других текстов Фернандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда: история переводов, комментарии и рисунки к тексту. // *Гуманитарный научный вестник*. 2021. № 8. С. 1–7.

that influenced the failure of the Spanish development of southern Florida.

Fernando de Escalante Fontaneda divided the lands of Florida known to him into five regions.

This is the land of the "king" Carlos (Carlos) of the Calusa tribe (Land of Calusa). The names of the chiefs are listed sequentially from the north of Tampa Bay to the south along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico **(Spanish and Russian languages):**

*Tanpa (Танпа), Yagua (Джагува, Ягва - неправильно), Estantarasa (Эстантапака), Queyhcha (Кейча), Juestocobaga (Хуэстокобага), Sinara (Синапа), Томо (Томо), Cayusa (Кайюка), Ñeguitun (Нъегитун), Avir (Авир), Cutespa (Кутеспа), Çononogua (Кононогва), Esquete (Эскете), Tonçobe o Tonsobe (Тонсобе), Chipi (Чипи), Taguagemue (Тагвагемуэ), Namiguaya (Намугуйя), Caragara (Карагара), Henhenquera (Эненкепа), Opacataga (Опакатага), Janar (Ханар), Escuru (Эскуру), Metamaro (Метамапо), Estame (Эстаме), Çacaspada (Какаспада), Satucuava (Сатукуава), Juchi (Хучи), Soco (Соко), Vuebe (Вуэбе), Teyo (Тейо), Muspa (Муспа), Casitua o Casitoa (Каситуа или Каситоа), Cotevo (Котево), Coyobea o Coyovia (Койобеа, Койовиа), Tequetaro (Текемапо), Jutan o Jutun (Хутан или Хутун), Custevuiya o Custevia o Custebiya (Кустевуйиа или Кустевия или Кустебийя), Ño (Ньо или Нё), Sinaesta (Синаэста), Calaobe (Калаобе), Guava (Гуава), Guebu (Гуэбу), Comachicaquiseyobe (Комачикакисейобе), Enepra (Эненпа).*



Next are the lands of Los Martyres (Los Martires) - here the enumeration comes from the south (modern. Key West Islands, Florida) north along the Atlantic coast :

Guarungube о Guarungunbe (Гварунгубе или Гварунгунбе), Cuchyaga о Cuchiyaga (Кучиага или Кучияга), Tatesta (Carlos) (Татеста) (вождь, зависимый от короля Калуса - прим. К. А.), Tequesta о Tegesta (Текеста или Тегеста), Tavuaçio о Tavuasias (Carlos) (Тавуасио или Тавуасия), Janar (Ханар), Cavista (Кависта), Custegiyo (Кустегийо), Jeaga (Хеага или встречается неправильное написание - племя Джега).

Cacique settlements with tribes adjacent to the borders of the Jega tribe from the north are also important. The lands of the Indians of the Ais tribes (Land of Ais or Ays) in southeastern Florida, the enumeration also goes north along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean:

*Ays (Айс), Vuacata о Guacata (Буаката или Гуаката), Tunsas (Тунса), Mayjuasa о Mayaјуаса (Майхуака или Майяхуака), Maуsoya (Майкойя), Mayasa (Майяка), Çilili (Çилили), Potano (Потано), Moloa (Молоа), Utina (Утина), Saravai о Sarabai (Саравай или Сарабай).*

The Spaniards' life and development of the Florida Peninsula were influenced by other tribes living in the north of Tampa Bay (the western part of the Florida Peninsula), bordering on the Indians of the Calusa tribe or known to them. These are settlements from the Gulf of Mexico, listed along the coast from north to south, as:

*Olagale (Олагале), Abalachí (Абалачи, т. е. Аппалачи), Onagatano (Онагатано), Mocoso о Mogoso (Мокосо или*

*Могосо), Тособага о Тосовага (Токобага или Токовага), Са̃агакола о Са̃огакола (Каньягакола о Каньогакола), Ребе (Пебе), Эскега (Эскега), Осигбеде о Осигебеде (Осигбеде о Осигебеде), Пи́ауа (Пийя́йя), Танракасте (Танпакасте).*

Since this work has a certain geographical scope of the south of the Florida peninsula, the settlements mentioned by Fontaneda, and their leaders located in northeast Florida from the Atlantic side are less interesting:

Sotoriba о Sotoriva (Соториба или Соторива), Moloa el bravo (Молоа эль bravo), Alimacany о Alimacani (Алимакани), Palica (Палика), Tacatucuru (Такатукуру), Guale (Гуале), Parca о Paica (Парка или Пайка)<sup>440</sup>.

Thus, there were a large number of settlements on the territory of the modern states of Florida and Georgia, which suggests that the coastal zone was quite densely populated by aborigines in the XVI century.

## **2.2. The Callus Tribe as a hegemon tribe in the Southern Florida Peninsula region**

In 1883, near the place of Key Marco, the Simmons family accidentally discovered high mounds of shells, and in 1890, Frank Johnson, a resident of Mound Key, excavated several of these mounds, finding Indian and European artifacts in them, such as, for example, beads and jewelry made of gold and

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<sup>440</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Сведения о расселении и карта племен аборигенов на полуострове Флорида в XVI веке: история возвращения и небытия. Лучшая научно-исследовательская работа 2021: сборник статей XXXII Международного научно-исследовательского конкурса, состоявшегося 15 августа 2021 г. в г. Пенза. Пенза, 2021. С. 50—55.

silver<sup>441</sup>. Soon, scientists Kenworthy and Douglas found abandoned water utility systems<sup>442</sup>. A little later, excavations by archaeologists Wilkinson and Danford followed, and in 1896 – archaeologist and ethnographer Frank Hamilton Cushing, who concluded that the numerous artifacts found show "a stage of some kind of life in south Florida."<sup>443</sup> In 1900, archaeologists conducted excavations in these mounds, also discovering Indian burials and European-made goods<sup>444</sup>. Thus began the process of returning to the history of the whole people of South Florida – the Calusa Indians, and the Kaloosahatchee culture, which dates back more than 2000 years – from 500 BC to 1753 AD<sup>445</sup>. Many of the artifacts found or copies of them can be seen today at the Florida Museum of Natural History (see Appendices № 1.17.1., 1.17.2. 1.23, 1.48, 1.46). However, unfortunately, many evidences and artifacts of the pre-Columbian peoples of Florida were destroyed at the beginning of the XX century. during the

<sup>441</sup> Episodic complexity and the emergence of a coastal kingdom: Climate, cooperation, and coercion in Southwest Florida / W. H. Marquardt, K. J. Walker, V. D. Thompson [и др.]. // *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*. 2022. № 65. С. 1-28.

<sup>442</sup> Widmer R. J. *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast*. Tuscaloosa, 1988. P. 334.; Ашрафьян, К. Э. Сведения о расселении и карта племен аборигенов на полуострове Флорида в XVI веке: история возвращения и небытия. Лучшая научно-исследовательская работа 2021: сборник статей XXXII Международного научно-исследовательского конкурса, состоявшегося 15 августа 2021 г. в г. Пенза. Пенза, 2021. С. 50-55.

<sup>443</sup> Widmer R. J. *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast*. Tuscaloosa, 1988. P. 36-37.; Snapp A. L. *The world of the Calusa: A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford*. Oxford, 1999. P. 290.

<sup>444</sup> Episodic complexity and the emergence of a coastal kingdom... С. 2.

<sup>445</sup> Marquart W. D. *Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology*. *Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective* // *Southeastern Archaeology*. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 5, 9.; *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700*. Tuscaloosa, 2005. С. 157.

state and commercial construction of roads, for which large mounds around Tampa Bay and elsewhere, consisting of shells<sup>446</sup>. The exposition of the vertical section of the "cultural layer" in the habitats of the Calusa Indians can be seen in the aforementioned museum in Florida (see Appendix No. 1.47).

The scientific literature of the early XX century described the resistance of the aborigines to the Spaniards. However, instead of the Calusa tribe, the Yamasee tribe of Indians was mentioned<sup>447</sup>, since almost nothing was known about the Calusa tribe at that time.

In all the works of scientists who described the Calusa tribe, it is noted that in appearance the Indians of this tribe stood out sharply among other aborigines, and the hierarchical organization of the tribe also differed from other cultures of the Florida Peninsula<sup>448</sup>. Before the penetration of the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortez into Mexico in 1519, the Spaniards did not meet aborigines who would have such great political power over vast areas of the earth. Calusa was supported by special military forces and collected tribute from all over south Florida<sup>449</sup>.

The Calusa Indian society, unlike many other communities and cultures of Spanish Florida and the West Indies, was based on the inheritance of the status of a chief. This follows from the

<sup>446</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 290.; Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. C. 304.

<sup>447</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon. New York, 1908. P. 59.

<sup>448</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 5.; Ашрафьян, К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.

<sup>449</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. C. 157.

testimony of a former captive of Calusa, the Spaniard Escalante Fontaneda, who left a memoir published in 1575<sup>450</sup>.

In his writings, John Hann wrote that the indigenous people of Southeastern Spanish Florida "possessed the richest culture among the indigenous people north of Mexico... by almost any measure." <sup>451</sup>. The creation of museums in Florida at the end of the XX century and at the beginning of the XXI century occurred after the discovery of rich archaeological finds. The collected artifacts make it possible to assess the life and way of life of the Indians of the disappeared tribes in the southern and central parts of Florida from different angles (Appendix No. 1) <sup>452</sup>.

To understand the situation with the failure of the Spanish development of the south of the Florida peninsula, first of all it is necessary to consider the Calusa Indian tribe itself, which was able to resist colonization and preserve its identity throughout the XVI-XVIII centuries.

Europeans called the Calusa tribe in different ways: Calusa (Calusa), Calos (Calos), Carlos (Carlos), Kaluus (Caluus), Escampaba (Escampaba). One of the reports of 1568 says that escampaba is what the inhabitants of the kingdom of Carlos call themselves. From the language of the Miccosukee Indians, the word "Calusahathee" (Calushathee) or the Creek Indian tribe, the word "Calusahulke" (Calushulke) means "reapers of the sea". The

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<sup>450</sup> Ашрафьян, К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.; Ашрафьян К. Э. История переводов «Мемуаров» и других текстов Фернандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда: история переводов, комментарии и рисунки к тексту. // Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 8. С. 1-7.

<sup>451</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa. Gainesville, 1991. P. 460.

<sup>452</sup> Там же. P. 460.

word of the Mikkosuki Indians "Kalachaali" (Calachaalee) can also mean "People of Shells" (see Appendix No. 1.34). The very name of Calusa (/kə'lu:sə/ kə-LOO-sə) means "ferocious people", as the witness of those events Escalante de Fontaneda wrote about<sup>453</sup>.

Until now, the names of rivers and localities left over from the Calusahatchi (Kalusahatchi) culture have been preserved on the territory of the southwest of the Florida peninsula: for example, the name of the city "Tampa" in Florida means "fire sticks" in translation from the Calusa language (see Appendix No. 1.29), which is explained by a rare climatic phenomenon: permanent, not like lightning in other regions of the world, lightning that appears throughout the year in the form of short fiery discharges in the sky (this weather phenomenon can be observed now). Another example is the Caloosahatchee River, associated with the centuries-old history of this tribe. It is noted that the Calusa language is most similar to the languages of the peoples of the Gulf Coast: the forms of the well-known Calusa words were similar to the speech of the Tunica Indians in southwest Mississippi, so there is a theory that the Calusa may have been descendants of the Tunica tribe who migrated to Florida" <sup>454</sup>.

Historical documents of the Spaniards, along with archaeological data, are the most important sources in the study

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<sup>453</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. История переводов «Мемуаров» и других текстов Фернандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда: история переводов, комментарии и рисунки к тексту. // Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 8. С. 1-7.

<sup>454</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. С. 172.

of the Calusa tribe of Indians that disappeared in the XVIII century.

The place of settlement of the Calusa tribe was the southwest of the peninsula (see Appendix No. 1.15). According to scientists studying the Indians of Florida, the Calusa tribe was unique in all respects – they were sedentary fishermen, hunter-gatherers with a clear hierarchical structure (see Appendix No. 1.16)<sup>455</sup>.

The Calusa Indians depended on the availability of estuarine fish, shellfish and various types of wild plant products in their diet (see Appendix No. 1.37)<sup>456</sup>. Their diet consisted of up to 80% of marine products – from shellfish to sharks and rays, while up to 25% was black mullet. More than 30 different species of fish and more than 50 species of shellfish and crustaceans were used for food by the Indians of this tribe<sup>457</sup>. The shallow water environment of southern Florida, known as estuaries, made it possible to harvest seafood throughout the year<sup>458</sup>.

Bioarcheological data indicate that the diet of the Calusa Indians also included food made from duck, turtle, rabbit and white-tailed deer<sup>459</sup>. Archaeobotanical remains found in the Windover settlement and elsewhere indicate the use of prickly

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<sup>455</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.; Widmer R. J. The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast. Tuscaloosa, 1988. P. 334.

<sup>456</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... C. 304.

<sup>457</sup> Там же... P 304.

<sup>458</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa... P. 6, 9, 11.

<sup>459</sup> Он же. Hunters and Gatherers. London, 1987. Vol. 1. P. 252.

pear fruits, grapes, palm trees and other seasonal fruits available<sup>460</sup>.

The Calusa did not cultivate the land, as they received corn, known to most tribes of America, from the tribes of the Appalachian Indians. They themselves considered farming a lowly occupation for themselves<sup>461</sup>. There is no evidence of large-scale agriculture in Calusa, but there is evidence that they cultivated small homesteads<sup>462</sup>.

The lifestyle, habits and beliefs of the inhabitants of the Calusa tribe were described by eyewitnesses of the events - Fontaneda<sup>463</sup> and chronicler Solis de Meras<sup>464</sup>.

Thus, the high growth of the Calusa Indians can be explained by the presence in their diet of calcium, magnesium and other elements necessary for bone growth. The Calusa also lived longer compared to other tribes that consumed mainly corn and its derivatives<sup>465</sup>..

If we compare the political structure of the tribe, it would be a mistake to call it simply "chiefdom", since Calusa has a ruling elite with a caste structure: the chief and his family,

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<sup>460</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 70.

<sup>461</sup> Там же. P. 180-182.

<sup>462</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... С. 163.

<sup>463</sup> Worth J. E. Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1995. Т. 73, № 3. P. 339-352.; Gannon M. The cross in the sand: the early Catholic Church in Florida. 1513-1870. Gainesville, 1965. XV, P. 210.

<sup>464</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 431.

<sup>465</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Междисциплинарное взаимодействие в науке на примере рассмотрения открытия и освоения Флориды в XVI веке. (Глава 12) // Современные проблемы науки и общества: монография / Под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева. Пенза: Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение», 2021. С. 146-161.



priests, a standing army collecting tribute from neighbors, and commoners<sup>466</sup>. In the works of R.D. Widmer, the Calusa society is characterized as a "stratified chiefdom"<sup>467</sup>, since there was a hierarchy and structured management in society, expressed in a clear distribution of the wealth received. Hereditary nobility was also distinguished, and there was a special religious stratum of priests (see Appendix No. 1.16)<sup>468</sup>.

The leaders of the Calusa tribe, or "kings of the Calusa tribe", unlike other cultures, inherited their power from father to son since the 800s of our era<sup>469</sup>. The leader of Calusa was an indisputable authority, the only one who rightfully expressed the will of the gods (see Appendix No. 1.38, 1.39, 1.41). The power of the king was considered divine and was not questioned<sup>470</sup>.. During receptions, he sat on a special place, which is a kind of stool on the platform, emphasizing his superiority (see appendix No. 1.42). A relative of the king became the chief priest (chief shaman) (see Appendix No. 1.43), and the king's brother commanded the warriors who were a subsidized group. These warriors were not supposed to work and were under the direct command of a military commander (see Appendix No. 1.45)<sup>471</sup>..

<sup>466</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. С. 304.; Ашрафьян, К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.

<sup>467</sup> Widmer R. J. The Evolution of the Calusa... P. 334.

<sup>468</sup> Marquardt W. Hunters and Gatherers... P. 171

<sup>469</sup> Он же. Tracking the Calusa... P. 22.

<sup>470</sup> Worth J. E. Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida // The Florida Historical Quarterly. 1995. Т. 73, № 3. P. 339-352.; Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.

<sup>471</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700. Tuscaloosa, 2005. P. 168-169.

and not the leader of the Calusa. Thus, the leader, the high priest and the head of the host were the three key figures in society<sup>472</sup> (see appendix No. 1.43). Polygamy was developed at the hierarchical top of the Calusa (see appendix No. 1.40; 1.42).

Recent works by American archaeologists and Florida experts claim that "at various points in its history, the Calusa society can be classified as a simple chiefdom, a complex chiefdom, a supreme chiefdom and –after 1500 –a weak state or kingdom based on tribute."<sup>473</sup>

However, it is not so important in the work whether the Calusa society was a "proto-state", a weak state or a "stratified chiefdom", as it is important that this particular tribe became the head of other tribes of south Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century<sup>474</sup>.

Numerous chiefs (caciques) of settlements and other tribes were subordinate to the main chief of the Kal (see Appendix No. 1.39). Dynastic marriages were common in the tribe, when daughters or sisters from the family of the "King of Calusa" married the leaders of other tribes and, thereby, sealed the alliance between the tribes, for example, with the Tequesta tribe<sup>475</sup>. The Spanish governor Menendez also had to officially marry the sister of the King of Calusa, which contributed to the

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<sup>472</sup> Societies in Eclipse... C. 169.; Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa. Gainesville, 1991. P. 460.

<sup>473</sup> Episodic complexity and the emergence of a coastal kingdom: Climate, cooperation, and coercion in Southwest Florida / W. H. Marquardt, K. J. Walker, V. D. Thompson [и др.]. // Journal of Anthropological Archaeology. 2022. № 65. C. 25.

<sup>474</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... C. 170.

<sup>475</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 158.; Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 54.

first and only friendly contacts in 1566-1568 with the Calusa Indians<sup>476</sup> and the Tequesta, Ais and others tribes that are part of the union of South Florida<sup>477</sup>. Interestingly, there was a custom to kiss the hand of the King of Calusa, as was customary among the kings of Europe<sup>478</sup>.

Calusa masks found in the XIX-XXI centuries (see appendices No. 1.17.1 and 1.17.2) indicate a developed system of ceremonial in the worship of the gods, and the data of the Spanish chroniclers speak of human sacrifices<sup>479</sup>. Moreover, Christian prisoners were often victims. In the description of the visit of Governor Menendez to the leader of the Calusa tribe by chronicler Meras (1566), it is said that Calusa was held by a large number of European prisoners. Some of them were kept for 20 years and sacrificed, usually in connection with holidays and ceremonies<sup>480</sup>. The rulers of Calusa often flaunted the victims – the Spaniards noted "a large number of Christian heads on poles and at least 50 heads at the foot of one tree." <sup>481</sup>.

The practice of Calusa sacrifice extended to their enemies and opponents and included the killing of rebellious subordinate chiefs both inside and outside their lands<sup>482</sup>. Their enemies were, for example, the Tocobaga Indians, who constantly fought with

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<sup>476</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida... P. 87-101.

<sup>477</sup> Там же. P. 158.

<sup>478</sup> Там же. P. 9, 92.

<sup>479</sup> Там же. P. 9, 87.

<sup>480</sup> Там же. P. 158.; Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 87.; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 76.

<sup>481</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 43-86.

<sup>482</sup> Там же. P.76.

the Calusa north of their borders in the Tampa Bay area (see Appendices No. 1.29, 1.30)<sup>483</sup>.

Fishing and navigation were quite developed among the tribe of Calusa Indians: they were known among the aborigines of Florida and Cuba as the best in the manufacture of canoes. It is known that Calusa had several types of canoes: for rough water (canoe with rough water), for calm water (canoe with quiet water), and for trade there were small cargo boats consisting of platforms connecting two canoes (see Appendix No. 1. 32). Calusa made a canoe from a single log, and to give shape, they burned out the middle and cut down the charred wood with strong tools made of shells (see Fig. Appendices No. 1.20, 1.21, 1.36).

The chronicler of Governor Menendez noted that the Calusa Indians were well guided by the Polar Star when they led the governor's ships at night and accompanied their leader Carlos by canoe in 1566<sup>484</sup>. Thanks to the reconstructions created in Florida museums, you can see canoes, each of which could accommodate up to 40 people<sup>485</sup>. When describing the attacks on the Spaniards, it was noted that the Calusa Indians were able to

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<sup>483</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion...P. 71-78.

<sup>484</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida... P. 176.

<sup>485</sup> Фотографии сделаны в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды (Florida Museum of Natural History) при Университете Флориды в Гейнсвилле, «Тропа наследия Калузы» («Calusa Heritage Trail»), «Природный центр и планетарий Калузы» («Calusa Nature Center & Planetarium»), «Курганный дом» («Mound House»), «Мемориальный парк Де Сото» («De Soto Memorial Park»), «Музей науки и природы епископата» («The Bishop Museum of Science and Nature»), «Исторический центр Тампа-Бэй» («Tampa Bay History Center») и др.

connect boats to create stable catamarans from them (see Appendix No. 1.32)<sup>486</sup>.

The central settlement where Chief Calusa lived was located on Mound Key Island in Estero Bay<sup>487</sup> (see Appendix No. 1.2), near the modern Fort Myers in Florida. In the "Panoramic reconstruction of a fishing village", which can be seen at the Florida Museum of Natural History, the life of an Indian village is quite clearly demonstrated (see Appendix No. 1.35). Here you can see the stand of the recreated two-story house of Chief Carlos, which could fit about 2,000 people (see Appendix No. 1.18). Other houses were built on high mounds of shells held together with clay, which contributed to a good all-round view. It was simply impossible to attack such a settlement by approaching unnoticed. The large capacity of the houses and the compact location of a large number of Indians inside them ensured the rapid mobilization of settlers in case of danger or hostilities.

It follows from the above that it was not difficult for Calusa to quickly assemble an army of several hundred people. Since the settlements were located not far from each other, it was not difficult to gather several thousand people in a short time at the beginning of hostilities<sup>488</sup>. You should also keep in mind the mobility of local residents in the presence of a large number of canoes.

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<sup>486</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion... P. 249.

<sup>487</sup> From Shell Midden to Midden-Mound: The Geoarchaeology of Mound Key, an Anthropogenic Island in Southwest Florida / USA. PLOS ONE. 2016. Vol. 11, № 4. URL: <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0154611>

<sup>488</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса... С. 159-164.

There is no solid evidence, however, judging by the reconstructions of the Florida Museum of Natural History, it can be assumed that the Spanish soldier Bernal Diaz del Castillo could describe the Calusa warriors when he wrote that "they had huge bows with sharp arrows, and spears – among them some were made in the form of swords, while their large the powerful bodies were covered with the skins of wild animals." <sup>489</sup> Describing their attack, the Spaniard wrote that "the attack was fast and furious. In the first volley, only arrows wounded six Spanish soldiers. The rest barely escaped back to the ship...". <sup>490</sup>

Here it is necessary to say about the simple but powerful weapon of the Indians – the atlatl (see Appendix No. 1.19.), which was owned by all the warriors of the tribe. These were wooden devices for throwing, that is, spearhead accelerators, developing a throwing speed of up to more than 100 km per hour. The warriors also had large bows, wooden spears, darts, clubs with inserts of shark teeth and spears in the manner of swords with shark teeth. Arrows and spears could have tips either made of stone, or of sharp bones and fish spikes (see Appendices No. 1.20, 1.21, 1.22) <sup>491</sup>.

The Calusa were highly organized militarily. There is evidence of the ability of the king of the tribe to send powerful military forces against his enemies<sup>492</sup>. For example, there is a record that in 1568 the chief of Calusa sent a fleet of 300 canoes

<sup>489</sup> Кастильо Б. Д. дель. Правдивая история завоевания Новой Испании... С. 160-162.

<sup>490</sup> Там же. С. 160-162.

<sup>491</sup> From Shell Midden to Midden-Mound: The Geoarchaeology of Mound Key, an Anthropogenic Island in Southwest Florida / USA. PLOS ONE. 2016. Vol. 11, № 4. URL: <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0154611>

<sup>492</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida... P. 43-86.

against the Mokoso Indians living near Tampa Bay, and Calusa killed 500 Indians of this tribe, who were then Spanish allies<sup>493</sup>.

Natural mobility training in the Calusa tribe was due to the fact that every year hurricanes, storms and tornadoes appear in the Gulf of Mexico, when wind speeds sometimes reach 300 km per hour<sup>494</sup>. Evacuation in such cases had to be quick and organized. Even now, everyone who lives in Florida permanently knows about the approaching season of powerful hurricanes at the end of each summer and autumn.

These natural phenomena have long been "taught" by the Calusa Indians, who had to quickly take cover, receiving warnings in advance about the approach of hurricanes and storms from their religious cults.

Calusa built a system of water utilities. Artificially constructed canals connected large coastal settlements with the interior through the river, now called Caloosahatchee, and connected the inner settlements with each other<sup>495</sup>. In addition, the Calusa had noticeably developed fishing crafts using a variety of equipment, for which they were famous among the island peoples (see Appendix No. 1.35). The Indians skillfully wove nets, made complex hooks, baskets for caught fish, etc.

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<sup>493</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.; Worth, J. The Social Geography of South Florida during the Spanish Colonial Era. URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251175150\\_The\\_Social\\_Geography\\_of\\_South\\_Florida\\_during\\_the\\_Spanish\\_Colonial\\_Era](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251175150_The_Social_Geography_of_South_Florida_during_the_Spanish_Colonial_Era)

<sup>494</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 163.; О циклонах во Флориде: URL: <https://britannica.com/science/tropical-cyclone/costliest-hurricanes-in-the-united-states>.

<sup>495</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... С. 169.

(see Appendix No. 1.23). The very nature of the estuaries of the Gulf of Mexico created a unique diet of marine food consumed by the Florida Indians, which gave the whole people the opportunity not to experience hunger and develop sedentary.

It is among these circumstances that we should look for the reasons for the persistent resistance of Calusa to the Spaniards and Christianization, without downplaying the role of other factors. In addition, without exception, all men fished and hunted sharks, rays, alligators, white-tailed deer, lynxes, red wolves, gray foxes and other animals<sup>496</sup>. From this it can be concluded that the men of the tribe were excellent hunters, well-versed in weapons, and in case of military danger they could quickly increase the number of permanent troops to repel the enemy.

Thus, it can be concluded that the reasons and conditions that made Calusa a hegemon tribe in the southern Florida Peninsula region were as follows:

1. The habitat of the people and the features of the Florida peninsula: the territory of Florida consisted of more than thirty thousand swamps and lakes with impassable mangroves that hindered the movement and supply of any enemy armies, and excluded the prospect of a sudden attack on their territory;

2. The structure of the Calusa tribe, characterized as a "stratified chiefdom"<sup>497</sup>, was based on the indisputable authority of the leader<sup>498</sup>, and the leader of the Calusa inherited the status,

<sup>496</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 11.; Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 290.

<sup>497</sup> Widmer R. J. The Evolution of the Calusa... P. 334.

<sup>498</sup> Калуса были стратифицированным вождеством, племенем-гегемоном на юге Флориды, но в испанских документах о вожде племени калуса писали, как о «короле калуса», именно этой терминологии мы будем



unlike other cultures where the leader was chosen (see Appendix 1.34);

3. Mobility of the population due to the specifics of Florida's weather conditions and the existence of the annual hurricane season;

4. The religion of the Calusa Indians, based on the acceptance of the king as a representative of the will of the gods and the supreme authority, as well as the ability of the priests of the religious caste to predict various natural disasters recurring from year to year, which helped the survival of the local population;

5. The system of politically justified dynastic marriages with other tribes of Florida to create alliances and solve certain political problems;

6. Military technology combined with the mobility of the Calusa society and the presence of a permanent army;

7. Engineering achievements of Calusa in the construction of canals, the production of various types of canoes, developed fishing and the specific arrangement of dwellings on high man-made embankments that serve as observation platforms and accommodate a large number of people inside;

8. Immigration of Indians from the Antilles and the Bahamas to Florida, caused by the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World, when Florida served as their last chance of refuge.

Obviously, we can talk about the existence not only of a "stratified chiefdom", but also of a "proto-state" of the Calusa

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придерживаться в работе. Изучение организации общества индейцев калусы привело американских ученых к заключению, что калуса, возможно, были основанным на дани слабым государством в период с XVI по XVIII в. [Societies in Eclipse, p. 163, 174].

Indians, since "the main feature of a "proto-state" is the presence of the power of one chief (chiefdom) when the people are removed from direct control." "A proto-state is also considered a combination of several settlements. They could be located quite far from each other, but they always obeyed the central village where the chief lived," <sup>499</sup> which can be seen among the Calusa Indians.

In 1566 , the Calusa began negotiations with the Spaniards with the aim of a military alliance with the Spanish governor of Florida , Menendez , on the terms of the governor 's marriage to the king 's sister<sup>500</sup> . Having sealed this alliance with Menendez as their new relative, the Calusa planned to secure a military advantage when the Spaniards intervened in the Indian wars. For example, they expected to use the power of Spanish weapons when attacking Tokobaga, their main enemies. However, when Menendez stipulated his neutrality, the Calusa became disillusioned with them, canceled contacts and, after a series of mutual attacks, forced the Spaniards to leave the fort they had built and leave the territory of southern Florida for another two hundred years.

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<sup>499</sup> Абдуллаев, М.Н. К проблеме теоретических представлений о феноменах протогосударство, государство и государственность // Юридический вестник Дагестанского государственного университета. №1. 2021. С. 10

<sup>500</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida... P. 431.

This fact fits well into the theory stated in the articles about the "gender factor"<sup>501</sup> and is confirmed by the disinterest of the Indians of southern Florida in contacts with Europeans.

### **2.3. Other tribes of Southern Florida and their relationship with the Calusa tribe**

Shipwrecks due to the weather and the peculiarities of the Florida coastline occurred quite often on the western and eastern coasts of the Florida Peninsula (see Appendix No. 1.14). Cargo from wrecked Spanish ships became the property of coastal tribes – Calusa, Ice, Jega, Tequesta, Matecumbe and Tocobaga<sup>502</sup> (see Appendices №1.15, 1.24, 1.25, 1.30). The Calusa Indians, who had the most power and military might in the Florida region, took most or the best things<sup>503</sup>.

Meanwhile, among these finds there was a high proportion of gold and silver jewelry and European goods that were found in the Calusa tribe during excavations<sup>504</sup>. Archaeologists and curators at the Gainesville Museum of Natural History point out that Chief Calusa had a large warehouse of such items at his disposal. The museum also exhibits artifacts that allow us to conclude that the Calusa recycled metal objects to make their

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<sup>501</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Новый взгляд на восстания аборигенов в Испанской Флориде и Вест-Индии в XVI веке. // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 2, № 31. С. 158–167.; Он же. Междисциплинарное взаимодействие в науке на примере рассмотрения открытия и освоения Флориды в XVI веке. (Глава 12) // Современные проблемы науки и общества: монография / Под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева. Пенза: Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение», 2021. С. 146–161.

<sup>502</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. Gainesville, 1995. P. 42.

<sup>503</sup> Там же. P. 41–42.

<sup>504</sup> Там же. P.42.

own symbols<sup>505</sup>.. For example, gold and silver were used as jewelry that was worn on the forehead or, for example, in the form of beads on the legs, as well as as a badge of distinction of the successor of the king<sup>506</sup>. It is also assumed that the ornaments were distributed to the chiefs, symbolizing their sacred affiliation to the alliance with the leader of the Calusa<sup>507</sup>.. These artifacts, left over from shipwrecks along the entire coastline of the Florida peninsula, are concentrated within the territory of Calusa, which clearly indicates their political power and control over other tribes in the region<sup>508</sup>.

When restoring the image of Indians of different tribes of Florida, scientists have achieved great success together with artists, restoring real images of Indians in the process of decorating museums, reconstructions and exhibitions. Especially successful and realistic are the images of Indians shown on the settlement map of the disappeared tribes of Florida as a result of a joint project by artist Theodore Morris and curator of the Florida Museum of Natural History, Professor Gerald Milanich (see Appendix No. 1.15). The works of anthropologist-illustrator Marald R. Clark and William Marquardt<sup>509</sup> are also successful.

### **The tribe of the Ais Indians (Ais).**

The Ais tribe was located on the central east coast of Florida.

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<sup>505</sup> Lopez C. Appropriation or Acculturation? Spanish Influence on Calusa. URL:

<http://dpantner.fiu.edu/dpService/dpPurlService/purl/FI18050900/00073>

<sup>506</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa. Gainesville, 1991. P. 268

<sup>507</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... C. 170.

<sup>508</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa... P. 460.; Он же. Indians of Central and South Florida 1513-1763. Gainesville, 2003. P. 249.ж Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.

<sup>509</sup> Morris T. Florida's Lost Tribes. Gainesville, 2004. P. 70.

Strategically, the land of Ais was located very conveniently for the Spaniards – between the Bahama Channel and Cuba. The Ais Indians themselves only once – in 1566 – established friendly relations with the Spaniards. As the chronicler Meras testifies, it was only when the Governor of Florida, Menendez de Aviles, married the sister of King Calusa and thus became related to him, that the possibility of establishing relations with the Ais Indians appeared.

However, two and a half years later, in 1569, the Spaniards abandoned the land and the missions they had built on the territory of the Ice, Tocobaga and Tequesta tribes because of soured relations with the Calusa Indians. After the resumption of hostility between the Spaniards and the Calusa, an immediate rupture of relations with other tribes subordinate to the Calusa, including the Ays Indians<sup>510</sup>, followed, after which the Spanish garrisons were exterminated by the aborigines.

### **The Tocobaga tribe.**

The Tocobaga tribe occupied an important and convenient place on the coast of the current Tampa Bay in the west of the Florida Peninsula (see Appendix No. 1.30.). Their territory approximately extended from the modern city of Sarasota to Clearwater Beach. In this area, on the land of the Tokobaga Indians, and now they find a large number of different artifacts confirming this. The territory of the Indians was located in the shallow part of Tampa Bay, overgrown with mangrove forests along the shores. Many rivers flow into the bay in this place – the mixing of salt and fresh waters provided the population with a

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<sup>510</sup> Francis J. M. Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida... P. 18, 23, 25–26.

variety of animal and plant food all year round due to the richest marine and river fauna and blooming tropical flora.

Tampa Bay was a border and disputed territory between the Tokobaga and Calusa tribes. Chief Tocobaga claimed some cities of the Calusa tribe <sup>511</sup>. For example, in 1566, the border of the Tocobaga lands passed in the north "fifty Spanish leagues" or "two days away" from the central settlement ("capital") of Calusa – Mound Key. Chief Tocobaga was an old enemy of the leaders of the Calusa tribe: in the same 1566, the Tocobaga unexpectedly attacked the Calusa Indians and captured 12 of them, including the baptized Dona Antonia. It is known that the leader of the Calusa tribe, 25-year-old King Carlos, offered Florida Governor Menendez to land unnoticed to burn villages and kill all the Tocobaga Indians<sup>512</sup>. The Tocobaga also feuded with the Mayaka Indians, saying that they were "numerous and warlike." <sup>513</sup>

The Tocobaga, like the Calusa and other tribes, captured the wrecked Spaniards and used them as slaves. This fact follows from the fact that Governor Menendez was translated from the Indian language by a captured Portuguese who was wrecked off the coast of Florida and lived with the Tocobaga Indians for six years<sup>514</sup>.

There is such a record about the Tocobaga Indians: "...in three days of negotiations, more than one thousand five hundred Indians came with their bows and arrows, and they were all very good-natured people." <sup>515</sup> Then, in 1566, a fort with Spaniards

<sup>511</sup> Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern... C. 170

<sup>512</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida... P. 174-175.

<sup>513</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe... P. 75.

<sup>514</sup> Там же. P. 176.

<sup>515</sup> Там же. P. 176

was established on the land of Tocobaga, in which Menendez left 30 soldiers under the command of Captain Garcia Martinez de Cos (Captain García Martínez de Cos). A year later, all of them were destroyed by the Tocobaga Indians<sup>516</sup>.

***Other tribes of Florida.***

There were also smaller groups of Indians living near Tampa Bay - the Indians of the tribes Usita (Uzita), Pohoy (Pohoy), Guacoso (Guacozo), Luca (Luca), Viskela (Vicela) and Tocaste (Tocaste); the latter occupied the northern part of the bay. These small groups concentrated around small villages all along the Tampa Bay coast <sup>517</sup>.

The Mokoso tribe lived on the eastern side of Hillsborough Bay and on the Hillsborough and Alafi Rivers. The Usita tribe occupied the area from the mouth of the Little Manatee River to Sarasota Bay, which included nine burial mounds-villages studied to date, including a mound in the Parish area (see Appendix No. 1.32).

Despite the neighborhood, the Mokoso Indians and the Usita Indians spoke different languages and were enemies. Of interest is the story that occurs in Garcilo de La Vega about a Spaniard named Ortiz, who was left alive at the request of the daughter of an Indian chief of the Usita tribe who fell in love with him. This girl's name was Irriigwa (sometimes the spelling Hirrihigua is found) (Hirrihigua). She saved the Spaniard's life at the cost of her own future: she sent Ortiz to the leader of the Mokoso tribe, which from that time became an ally of the

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<sup>516</sup> Там же. P. 178.

<sup>517</sup> Milanich J.T. Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe... P.72.

Spaniards in central Florida, for which her father canceled her wedding and destroyed the future. In honor of the rescue of the Spaniard Ortiz by an Indian princess in Florida, a commemorative plaque was installed from the public of Hillsborough County (see Appendix No. 1.26). In 1568, for their alliance with the Spaniards, the Calusa Indians soon raided the Mokoso tribe, exterminating almost everyone.

It is also necessary to mention the existence of aborigines who occupied the shallow part of Tampa Bay – a group of Pohoy or Capeloy Indians<sup>518</sup>.

As a result, it can be concluded that the tribes of the south of the Florida peninsula were united under the leadership of the local hegemon tribe Calusa in opposition to any Spanish attempt to land and establish a settlement in southern Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century. There is also evidence that this was facilitated by the long emigration of Indians from the Antilles and the Bahamas to south Florida due to the expansion of the Spanish development of Hispaniola, Cuba and other territories and the complete lack of interest in contacts on the part of the Indians of south Florida due to their lifestyle.

#### **2.4. Migration of Indians to Florida as an important factor in preparation for repelling the Spanish invasion**

Already since 1493, at the beginning of the Spanish exploration of the New World, the Indians of the Antilles fled to the interior of the island of Hispaniola and to neighboring

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<sup>518</sup> Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida... P. 174.



islands. With the development of Hispaniola and the attacks of the Spaniards on neighboring islands in order to capture Indians for work on their encomiendas, the locals already fled to Cuba, (see Appendix No. 1.27) as evidenced by a letter from Velasquez dated August 1515.

From various testimonies, it is also known about the resettlement of Cacique Atuey (Hathaway) from his native Hispaniola with all the soldiers to Cuba in 1509, where he continued the fight against the Spaniards and tried to prevent the landing of Diego Velasquez in 1512<sup>519</sup>, it was said that the Indians who emigrated from Hispaniola to Cuba, led by Atuey, took root in Cuba so much that "everyone was married to local women and they had children and grandchildren"<sup>520</sup>. Having finally captured the island of Cuba in 1512, the Spaniards found and executed the Cacique Atuey, after which the resistance of the locals was almost suppressed<sup>521</sup>.

The Indians, who did not want to remain under the control of the Spaniards, were forced to emigrate even further. And the closest point to Cuba was the Florida Peninsula<sup>522</sup>, where refugees settled in the south, on land that was controlled by the Calusa Indians or other tribes allied with them<sup>523</sup>. In the

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<sup>519</sup> Worth J. E. A History of Southeastern Indians in Cuba, 1513-1823. Unpublished paper presented at the Southeastern. URL: <https://stjohnsriverecotours.com/index.php/books/1-a-history-of-southeastern-indians-in-cuba-1513-1823/file> (дата обращения: 26.11.2021)

<sup>520</sup> Лас Касас Б. де. История Индий : [сокр.] пер. с испан. / отв. ред. Д. П. Прицкер, Г. В. Степанов [и др.] Ленинград, 1968. С. 471. Главы 21, 25, 26.

<sup>521</sup> Там же. Глава 21.

<sup>522</sup> Там же. Глава 25, 26.

<sup>523</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских островов в колониальном обществе: конец XV – середина XVI в. Бельцы, 2017. С. 146.; Ашрафьян К. Э. История переводов «Мемуаров» и других текстов Фернандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда: история переводов, комментарии и

Dominican Las Casas, who witnessed the events of the development of Hispaniola and Cuba, you can find a message that the Indians fled from Cuba to the coastal islands, although the fugitives were chased with dogs, caught and punished. One of the sources spoke of ships that barraged (patrolled) near the coast of Cuba and caught Indians trying to emigrate<sup>524</sup>. Various authors report that before the arrival in 1513 of Ponce de Leon's ships on the coast of Florida, where the Calusa lived, the presence of Spanish-speaking Indians was already observed<sup>525</sup>.

Fontaneda wrote that the chief of the Calusa tribe allowed the Indians who fled from Cuba to settle in southern Florida<sup>526</sup>. Local residents, communicating with the Indians who fled from the Antilles, learned firsthand about the harsh slave conditions of forced labor, the treachery of the Spaniards and the fear that the Spaniards sowed in the Caribbean<sup>527</sup>.

The very permission to settle for emigrated Indians from other islands suggests that the Calusa chief had a benefit in allowing various groups of migrants to become part of his people. This can be seen in the notes of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, for example, in chapter XII there is a conversation

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рисунки к тексту. // Гуманитарный научный вестник. 2021. № 8. С.3.

<sup>524</sup> Александренков Э.Г. Аборигены Больших Антильских... С. 145.

<sup>525</sup> Marquardt W. Hunters and Gatherers. London, 1987. Vol. 1. P. 177; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.

<sup>526</sup> Fontaneda H. De Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida, que ninguno de cuantos la han costado, no lo han sabido declarar. URL: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/memoria-de-las-cosas-y-costa-y-indios-de-la-florida-que-ninguno-de-cuantos-la-han-costado-no-lo-han-sabido-declarar--0>

<sup>527</sup> Colón de Carvajal A. La herencia de Cristóbal Colon Estudio y colección documental de los mal llamados pleitos colombinos (1492-1541) / A. Colón de Carvajal, J. M. Pérez-Prendes. Madrid, 2016. P. 2857.; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 13.

about a Florida city where fugitives from Cuba settled: "... many Indians from Cuba ... moved to the lands of Florida... they stayed there and founded the city, and to this day the descendants of immigrants from Cuba remain there." <sup>528</sup>

According to Marquardt<sup>529</sup>, it was the early history of indirect (through migrants) and direct interaction of the Calusa Indians with Europeans that created the high degree of hostility that Ponce de Leon met upon arrival on the peninsula. Hardly on June 4, 1513, he appeared on the territory of the Calusa Indians, when the Calusa warriors attacked his ships in canoes. The attacks on the Spaniards continued for two days: first, Calusa was attacked by 20 canoes, and then 80<sup>530</sup> were put up for battle. If we take into account that up to 40 people could fit in the canoe, we can assume that the Indians gathered from 200 to 3200 warriors against 65 people from the Spaniards, taking into account the women and crew<sup>531</sup>.

During the following years, between 1513 and 1521, Spanish ships visited the shores of Florida several times, not only initiating battles, but also providing the Indians with more knowledge about their military strength, and each time they were defeated and had to quickly leave the landing site.

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<sup>528</sup> Worth J. E. *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives...* P. 54.

<sup>529</sup> Marquardt W. *Hunters and Gatherers...* P. 177-178.

<sup>530</sup> Он же. *Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 6-7.; Кофман А.Ф. Под покровительством Сантьяго. Испанские завоевания Америки и судьбы знаменитых конкистадоров. Санкт-Петербург, 2017. С. 345-346.*

<sup>531</sup> Worth J. E. *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.; Ашрафьян, К. Э. Вымершее племя калуса как гегемон Южной Флориды в XVI-XVII вв.: причины его военного лидерства среди других народов Флориды // Самарский научный вестник. 2020. Т. 8, № 1 (30). С. 159-164.*

Neighboring tribes of Large and Small Antlia's willingly exchanged gold, silver and pearls for Spanish goods and were immediately involved in the "orbit" of economic dependence on the Spaniards. European goods were the only means that the Spaniards could use as leverage to attract the Aborigines to trade. However, glass beads, mirrors and other trinkets became available to Florida Indians due to the frequent shipwrecks of Spanish ships (see Appendix No. 1.14), in addition, they learned about them from emigrants, which reduced their very value as objects of exchange and trade. Also, due to the specifics of the way of life, the Indians did not need tools for cultivating the land<sup>532</sup>. The refusal of the Calusa Indians from tools for cultivating crops was recorded in 1697, when they noticed hoes among the goods unloaded from the boat, "asked why they [the Spaniards] did not bring blacks who could dig with hoes."<sup>533</sup>. This statement shows the Calusa Indians' rejection of agriculture<sup>534</sup>. The lack of interest in agriculture among the Indians of southwest Florida was a consequence of their specific lifestyle, lifestyle and food associated with the coastal waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the nature of Florida: they ate seafood, including black mullet, living near the shores of the Gulf of Mexico throughout the year and breeding in the estuaries of the Southwest coastlines<sup>535</sup>.

### ***Conclusion:***

The tribes of the southern Florida Peninsula were united by the Calusa tribe in opposition to any Spanish attempt to land and

<sup>532</sup> Hann J.H. Missions to the Calusa... P.460.

<sup>533</sup> Он же... P. 460.

<sup>534</sup> Marquart W. D. Tracking the Calusa: a retrospective Southeastern Archaeology. Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective // Southeastern Archaeology. 2014. Vol. 33, № 1. P. 1-24.

<sup>535</sup> Там же. P. 4.

establish a settlement in southern Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century. It can be said that this was facilitated by the long-term emigration of Indians from the Antilles and the Bahamas and other territories of the West Indies to South Florida (see Appendix No. 1.27). It also played a role that the Spaniards had nothing to offer as the beginning of trade relations for the local population because of Calusa disinterest in iron tools for farming alien to them and goods already available to them from Europe, ideas about which they received from emigrants and thanks to numerous shipwrecks of Spanish ships.

### **Chapter 3. The reasons for the failures of expeditions to colonize Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century .**

#### **3.1. The reasons for the failure of the expedition of 1513-1514 .**

Based on the results of studying the external and internal circumstances of the expedition, it is possible to identify the reasons that influenced the unsuccessful efforts in the development of Spanish Florida in 1513. Firstly, it is the disinterest of the "House of Columbus" in discovering new lands due to the prospect of direct subordination to the Spanish crown. As described above, as a result of the legal struggle between the Crown of Spain and the local authorities in the West Indies by 1513, the knot of contradictions was tightened, as a result of which any expedition organized by supporters of Ferdinand II was deprived of human and material support from Cuba, Hispaniola and other West Indian islands. Under these conditions, the king, in turn, was not interested in the development of the New World by conquistadors loyal to the "House of Columbus".

Secondly, an important point was the lack of financial support for the expeditions from the Castilian Crown: in 1513, preparations were in full swing for Pedraris Avila's campaign in Darien in the New World, for which all funds were directed. As a result, the financing of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon to Florida in 1513 could only be carried out at the expense of Ponce de Leon himself.

In the current situation, it is possible to identify not only these, but also other reasons that influenced the failures in the development of Spanish Florida in 1513.:

1. The lack of military, material, technical and human support from the West Indies due to political and legal differences between the Castilian Crown and the "House of Columbus" caused by the litigation of the "Columbus Trials".

2. The subversive activities of Diego Columbus during the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon to Florida in 1513

- a) The allegedly planned attack and destruction of the city of Caparra on San Juan by the Caribs;

- b) The provocative campaign of Captain Miruelo in order to track the path of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon to discover new lands.

3. The factor of expectation of the Spanish invasion by the tribes of southern Florida was reinforced by anti-Spanish stories of aborigines from the Antilles and the Bahamas who immigrated to the south of the Florida Peninsula, fleeing from the Spaniards due to the development of encomienda in the West Indies.

4. The Spaniards' lack of tribal allies as a result of the local population's disinterest in contacts with Europeans – the lack of points of contact for exchange and trade:

- a) Ignoring the practice of agriculture by the Indians of southern Florida;

- b) Receiving goods from Europe from emigrated Indians and as a result of shipwrecks of Spanish ships around the Florida Peninsula.

5. Limited financing of the expedition by Ponce de Leon himself in the absence of support from the Castilian Crown; a

small number of people on board Spanish ships – 65 people in 1513 and 200 in 1521.

6. The element of chance: rescue of people from the wrecked ship Miruelo, because of which the expedition had to be interrupted, as it was necessary to deliver the rescued to the West Indies.

7. Other factors:

a) Incorrect understanding of the geographical location and size of the found land – Ponce de Leon considered Florida an island.

b) The unsuccessful choice of the landing zone of the expedition in the place of concentration of the Calusa tribe, as a result of which there was a collision with the Indians, who are at a higher level of development, military organization and mobility compared to the forces known to the Spaniards (surprise factor).

c) A powerful resistance organized by the Calusa Indians, who were a "stratified chiefdom" and had permanent military forces that prevented the landing of the Spanish expedition ashore to replenish water supplies in 1513.

### **3.2. Reasons for the termination of attempts to develop Florida in order to establish settlements between 1513 and 1521**

Ferdinand's forcible expulsion of Diego Columbus to Spain in 1515, followed by the king's illness and imminent death, marked a new period in the history of the West Indies administration associated with the arrival of three Hieronymite monks appointed by Cardinal Sinseros. After the departure of the



Hieronymites in 1519, the administration temporarily passed to Rodriguez de Figueroa (1519-1520), as mentioned above. Such instability of the central government unleashed hands for illegal trade, smuggling and other illegal actions on the part of the local administration.

Diego Columbus returned to the West Indies again in 1520. At that time, the young Charles I was busy being crowned as Charles V – he was taking the rank of Holy Roman Emperor. His regent, the Flemish Andrian of Utrecht, who is also the bishop of the city of Tortosa, was busy in connection with important events in La Coruna and the struggle with the rebellious comuneros in Spain<sup>536</sup>. Diego Columbus, choosing a good moment, returned to the West Indies, displaced the "royalists" he disliked and, with the help of judges loyal to him, again began to infringe on his opponents<sup>537</sup>.

The main provision of the treaty between the Castilian Crown and the Adelantado Juan Ponce de Leon was that no discoveries and studies could be valid and taken into account if they were not approved by the latter. Therefore, it becomes clear that the main reason for the undeveloped lands of Florida is connected with this formal provision – with the impossibility of legal organization of expeditions by any conquistadors, except Juan Ponce de Leon.

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<sup>536</sup> После суда в Ла-Корунья в 1520 г стало понятным, что регентом Кастильского королевства во время отсутствия Карлоса будет управлять иностранец – Адриан Утрехтский, фламандец и кардинал Тортосы, что явилось поводом для восстания.

<sup>537</sup> Julian, A. El ingenio de Diego Colón y la rebelión de sus esclavos en 1521. // CLIO. 2015. V. 189. P. 1-85.

The adelantado himself in the period 1513-1521 had to postpone the expedition to Florida over and over again for the following reasons:

1. From 1514 to 1516 Ponce de Leon carried out the order of King Ferdinand II of Aragon to wage war with the Caribs in order to eliminate the threat of their invasion of San Juan and other islands, for which public funds were allocated from the royal treasury (see Appendix №2.2, 2.3, 2.4).

2. From 1516 to 1519, the development of Florida was postponed again, since the following circumstances have developed:

A) The arrival of Juan Ponce de Leon in Spain to report to the royal treasurers on the end of the war with the Caribs in 1516.

B) Ponce de Leon's forced stay in Spain due to the sudden death in 1516 of King Ferdinand II of Aragon, as well as the expectation of confirmation of his rights to the governorship of Florida by the new King Charles I and his regents, which lasted until 1518

C) After the return of the Adelantado in 1518 from Spain, the expedition was again postponed from- for the death of his wife, Leonora, which caused the urgent need to arrange the lives of his daughters before a new expedition.

3. From 1520 to 1521, there was a difficult situation with the organization of the expedition due to the return of Diego Columbus from Spain to the West Indies in 1520: there was a new aggravation of relations between the "royalists" and supporters of Columbus, which again deprived the campaign of administrative and material support from the West Indies, where

as part of the local administration there were supporters of the "House of Columbus".

### **3.3. Reasons for the failure of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1521**

In the conditions of the newly flared antagonistic confrontation between the royalists and Diego Columbus, who again remained without the support of the local authorities of the West Indies, Juan Ponce de Leon decided in 1521<sup>538</sup> on a second expedition, spending almost all his fortune on it and recruiting only 200 people instead of the 500 required by the contract<sup>539</sup>. The financing of both expeditions was carried out from his personal funds. This is evidenced by the instructions given to him in the Royal Contract of 1514, as well as his letters to the Emperor Charles V and the Bishop of Tortosa before sailing in 1521<sup>540</sup>.

It is possible to trace how in 1521 almost the same circumstances developed that caused the failure of the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon as in 1513:

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<sup>538</sup> Ober F. A. Juan Ponce de Leon... P. 82-86.

<sup>539</sup> Peck D. T. Ponce de León and the discovery of Florida: the man, the myth, and the truth. Saint Paul, 1993. P. 87.; Sanz V.M. Juan Ponce de León : fundador y primer gobernador del pueblo Puertorriqueño, descubridor de la Florida y del Estrecho de las Bahamas. Barcelona, 1971. P. 253.; Fusion, R.H. Juan Ponce de León and the Spanish discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida. Blacksburg, 2000. P. 268. ; Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 43-86.

<sup>540</sup> Worth J. E. Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast. Gainesville, 2016. P. 36-41, 47-51.; Merás G. S. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the conquest of Florida: a new manuscript / edited, translated, and annotated by David Arbesú-Fernández. Gainesville, 2017. P. 431.

1. The lack of sufficient financial support for the expedition of 1521 due to the embezzlement of most of Ponce de Leon's personal funds to fight the Caribs in 1514-1516 and the issue of daughters in marriage after death wives.

2. The absence of any financial and material, administrative and human support from the nearby territories of the West Indies (Cuba and Hispaniola) due to the ongoing confrontation between the "House of Columbus" and the Crown for the rights of governance in the West Indies and the incessant "Trials of the Columbians".

3. Repeated unsuccessful landing in the place of concentration of the forces of the Calusa Indians prepared for military operations.

4. The Spaniards' lack of allies among the Indians of southern Florida and the Natives' disinterest in contacts with the Castilians due to the points of contact for exchange and trade that have not been found for many years (the lack of agriculture and the presence of European goods among the Indians obtained as a result of numerous shipwrecks).

5. The fatal injury of Ponce de Leon by the Florida Indians and the departure of both ships from the peninsula due to the lack of assistance from the administration of the West Indies and Spain.

6. Natural environment specific to the south of Florida: frequent hurricanes and storms, tropical downpours, high humidity, swampy, impassable terrain with thousands of brackish lakes and mangroves; a lot of reptiles: alligators, snakes, etc.; lack of deposits of gold, silver, and other precious metals, etc.

Let's now consider the events that occurred after the unsuccessful expedition of 1521.

After the injury of Ponce de Leon and his death in Cuba in July 1521 and until 1523, the issue of the governor in Florida remained controversial: first of all, the royal judge Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon applied for this position. He has already sent an expedition to Gordillo "to explore a good bay." <sup>541</sup>. Apparently, Diego Columbus also became aware of Adelantado's injury in Florida. From the side of the "House of Columbians", an expedition was also sent under the leadership of Captain Kaho, organized by the "Prokolubovsky" Judge Matienzo<sup>542</sup>.

The expeditions met when they surveyed the Atlantic coast of Florida, as it was written earlier. Both captured aborigines for work on Hispaniola. At the same time, the accusation of Indians brought and sold as slaves, put forward by Columbus against the "royalist" Lucas de Aillon, and the concealment of the same actions of "his" judge speaks of double standards that invariably accompanied the internal struggle of opponents.

Soon, on December 26, 1521, an uprising of black slaves took place in Hispaniola, with the goal of "killing all Christians" and freeing themselves, which was what opponents of the use of such labor on sugar plantations<sup>543</sup> feared. Moreover, the conflict between the "royalists" and the "House of Columbus" party did not stop, but only escalated. Complaints of infringement of rights were constantly sent to Spain and caused continuous conflicts

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<sup>541</sup> Hoffman P. E. A New Voyage of North American Discovery... P. 421-422.

<sup>542</sup> Shea J. G. The Catholic Church in the colonial days. Book 1. 1521-1763. New York, 1886. P. 104-106.

<sup>543</sup> Julian A. El ingenio de Diego Colón y la rebelión de sus esclavos en 1521... P. 29-30.

with royal officials and auditors who supported the "royalists". The struggle of various factions at the court of the young Emperor Charles V and the uprising of the comuneros led to the fact that on March 23, 1523 The Emperor sent a royal instruction to Diego Columbus. He personally dismissed Columbus from his duties and forced him to return to Spain. Arriving in Madrid, Columbus continued the litigation of the "Columbus Trials" in his continuous travels until his sudden death in 1526<sup>544</sup>.

The lack of financial interest in the development of open land was further reinforced by disappointment with the bowels of the Florida Peninsula – the lack of silver and gold reserves. Perhaps this fact has become extremely important in the entire colonization of Florida, taking into account the unfavorable climatic conditions in comparison with other areas of the New World.

### **3.4. The hypothesis of the inevitability of the failure of attempts to develop Florida**

It is necessary to summarize the answer to the naturally arising question: why the Spaniards could not master the south of Florida from 1513 to 1525, although this territory is located next to the well-developed West Indies – it is much closer than

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<sup>544</sup> Colón de Carvajal A. La herencia de Cristóbal Colon Estudio y colección documental de los mal llamados pleitos colombinos (1492-1541) / A. Colón de Carvajal, J. M. Pérez-Prendes. Madrid, 2016. P. 2857.; Del Castillo, B. D. Véridique histoire de la conquête de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1878. P. 956.; Cesáreo F. D. Los pleitos de Colón. Introducción. Boletín de la Real //Academia de la Historia. 1892. Vol. 20. P. 521-535.

New Spain<sup>545</sup> conquered by Cortes. That is, if we put the question more broadly, it is necessary to understand: why the Spaniards, with the well-established mechanism of the conquest, could not conquer the union of the tribes of southern Florida led by the Calusa Indians?

In order to answer this question, the possibilities of developing Florida were investigated on the basis of available knowledge and documents; these data were correlated with a retrospective look at the events of that period that took place in world history.

Thus, the dissertation examines the events that engulfed Europe and the New World, which influenced each other through cause-and-effect relationships: these are the events in Spain itself, the confrontation between Spain and France, as well as the emigration of Indians as a consequence of the introduction of the *encomienda*, the confrontation between the "House of Columbus" and the Spanish Crown; the processes initiated by the junta of Burgos in 1512 and the junta of Valladolid in 1513, the creation of the "Demand for Indians" in 1513, the beginning of the "Silver Age of Piracy" in the Atlantic, the hegemony of the Calusa tribe in the south of the Florida Peninsula, and some others.

All these factors lead to the emergence and construction of a hypothesis about the inevitability of the failure of the Spanish development of the south of the Florida peninsula.

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<sup>545</sup> The name "New Spain of the Ocean Sea" first appears in the second letter of Cortes to Charles the Fifth dated October 30, 1520. Cortez proposes to call the land that he "discovered" and is going to conquer к(Прим. – к.и.н. Калюта А.В.).

The hypothesis about the impossibility of settling south Florida was formulated in the dissertation work for 2021 and provides primary data for a reasonable in-depth study and confirmation of the hypothesis in the dissertation itself. I would like to cite and consider the following factors that influenced the failure of attempts to colonize south Florida.

The first factor is the migration of Indians from the West Indies and the creation of a union of tribes in southern Florida.

Unlike Mexico, where several hundred thousand Indian allies from among the rebellious tribes fought against the Aztec Empire under Cortez<sup>546</sup>, the opposite picture has developed in the south of the Florida peninsula.

The Indians who emigrated from the Antilles and the Bahamas since the 1500s brought extremely negative information about the Spaniards. These immigrants settled in southern Florida<sup>547</sup> with the permission of the Calusa tribal leaders. It was a hegemon in the region and had close ties through a kinship system of marriages and/or through treaties with the Jega, Tequesta, Ice, Jororo and Mosquito Indians<sup>548</sup>.

This created a fairly strong association between the tribes of the south of the Florida peninsula, based on kinship and fear of revenge by the militarily superior Calusa Indians. This union was quite monolithic and was supported by emigrants from neighboring islands.

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<sup>546</sup> История Латинской Америки. Доколумбова эпоха - 70-е годы XIX века. Москва: Наука, 1991. С. 62

<sup>547</sup> Fontaneda H. De Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida, que ninguno de cuantos la han costado, no lo han sabido declarar. URL: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/memoria-de-las-cosas-y-costa-y-indios-de-la-florida-que-ninguno-de-cuantos-la-han-costado-no-lo-han-sabido-declarar--0>

<sup>548</sup> Hann J.H. Indians of Central and South Florida 1513-1763... P. 249.



In addition to this important condition, there were others:

1. In terms of trade, the Spaniards could only offer unnecessary goods to the Indians for agriculture, which the aborigines did not engage in, and despised those who cultivated the land;

2. In military terms, the Calusa Indians and their allies won a number of victories over the Spaniards - this united the peoples of southern Florida: in their eyes, the firearms of Europeans and technical innovations had no advantage over the weapons and tactics of the aborigines;

3. In religious terms, the aborigines saw an obvious advantage of their faith: local gods helped the Indians to win, and the Christian god did not protect the Spaniards from death - they could be sacrificed, and their heads were exposed.

The second factor is the struggle between the local administration of the West Indies and the royal power.

The territory of Florida became a stumbling block between the Spaniards themselves. Legally, after the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon, this territory belonged to the Castilian Crown, and not to the "House of Columbus". The proximity to the territory of Cuba, which was legally and actually under the control of Diego Velasquez, loyal to the "House of Columbus", deprived any expedition to Florida organized by the "royalist" Ponce de Leon of assistance from the West Indies.

The rejection by King Ferdinand II of Aragon of an application for the discovery and development of the land of Bimini (future Florida) from Bartolome Columbus and the appointment of Diego Columbus's opponent, the "royalist" Juan Ponce de Leon, as the governor of yet undiscovered lands was an

unprecedented step that determined the fate of future discoveries.

Subversive actions on the part of Diego Columbus, who sent Captain Miruelo's ship to track the path of de Leon's expedition, such as the allegedly accidental attack of the Caribs on the city of Caparra, forced Ponce de Leon to interrupt the expedition of 1513, and return to San Juan. This means that Diego Columbus partially achieved his goals of interrupting the research and development of new territories by the "royalists", which were to come under the direct control of King Ferdinand II of Aragon.

However, Captain Ortub's ship, sent by Ponce de Leon for a further campaign, contributed to the discovery of Bimini Island itself and other islands of the Bahamian archipelago.

Encouraged by Diego Columbus, the illegitimate exploration of the already open shores of Florida in 1516 under the command of Captain Diego Miruelo in order to map the coast confirms the above provisions.

Due to the legal and actual confrontation between the "royalists" and adherents of the "House of Columbus", the Ponce de Leon expeditions of 1513 and 1521 were deprived of any support.

The third factor is the limited funding of expeditions.

Financing of expeditions to the shores of Florida-Bimini was carried out at the expense of the conquistador Ponce de Leon himself. In 1513, during the trip to Bimini, Ponce de Leon could only rely on his own strength, which was quite limited compared to the capabilities of the Castilian crown and the "House of Columbus".

The same circumstances developed in 1521. The lack of personal funds in the absence of financial support from the colonies of the New World and the royal treasury limited the possibilities of the expedition to establish a long-term settlement on the coast.

The fourth factor is randomness.

The landing of Juan Ponce de Leon near the capital of Calusa Mound Key was a tragically accidental factor. The collision of the Calusa tribe with the Spaniards twice in a place that has been the center of the Calusa tribe for many centuries is an obvious accident.

Another uncontrollable factor was the interruption of Ponce de Leon's expedition due to a meeting with Captain Miruelo's ship, sent by Diego Columbus. Also accidental was the wreck of the ship Miruelo during a storm in front of Ponce de Leon, who had no choice: the conscious humane decision of the captain to save the sinking crew of compatriots put the expedition of 1513 on the brink of collapse.

### ***Conclusion.***

Thus, during the analysis, all expeditions from the beginning of the discovery of Florida to 1525 were considered, taking into account various circumstances, and a consistent hypothesis was created about the inevitability of the failure of attempts to develop Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century, due to four factors: 1) emigration of Indians from the West Indies to Florida, stimulating the formation of an anti-Spanish union of tribes in the south of the Florida peninsula; 2) the confrontation between the local authorities of the West Indies and the Spanish Crown for the administrative

management of open lands, which deprived the expedition organized by either side of material and legal support; 3) financing of the expedition to explore Florida from the personal limited funds of the conquistadors; 4) choosing an unsuccessful landing site in southwest Florida in the area with the highest concentration aboriginal forces.

## **Conclusion**

The expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513, as a result of which Florida was discovered, was sent by King Ferdinand II of Aragon with the aim of direct administrative subordination of the new lands to the Kingdom of Castile, which he ruled as regent of his daughter, Juana I.

This forced decision was dictated by the administrative and legal confrontation between the "House of Columbus" and the metropolis for the right to dispose of human and financial resources in the New World, which created constant tension between the regional elites of the West Indies and the central royal power.

As a result of the conducted research, it can be concluded that after the discovery of Florida by the Spaniards in 1513, this circumstance and a number of other important objective conditions prevented the development of the already open land.

The lawsuits (Pleitos Colombinos) of the "House of Columbus" against the Spanish Crown (1492-1541), initiated by Christopher Columbus himself and continued under his son Diego Columbus in 1509, caused irreparable harm to Spanish interests in the New World, as they led to a conflict of interests between the local administration in Hispaniola, pursuing private enrichment goals, and the Castilian crown. However, this accelerated the course of the conquest in the whole New World, which sharply differs from previous discoveries in the legal field and in a socio-economic way.

The introduction of the *encomienda* system on the new lands caused a rapid decline in the Aboriginal population and forced them to flee to neighboring islands and south Florida.

In addition, the struggle of Christian orders with each other over the methods of Christianization of aborigines and determining their place in society had a certain impact, and the conflict of Dominican monks with the administration of the West Indies was used for political purposes by King Ferdinand II of Aragon, which led to the adoption of the most important laws of that time: the Burgos Laws of 1512, and the laws of Valladolid of 1513 G., as well as to the "Requirement to the Indians" of 1513, which changed the legal aspect of the conquest.

The confrontation between the Castilian Crown and the local administration in the West Indies had a consequence in the form of the rapid development of illegal trade and piracy by France in the Caribbean Islands region.

The local authorities actually sabotaged the attempts to develop Florida, and this was reflected primarily in the supply of subsequent expeditions with necessary and vital resources – financial, material and human, etc. This was the main obstacle to the success of any expeditions to colonize Florida from 1513 to 1525, including two campaigns of Ponce de Leon in 1513 and in 1521. As a result, the financing of expeditions to explore Florida came from very limited personal funds of the conquistadors.

In the first quarter of the XVI century, the unification of tribes under the leadership of the hegemon Calusa resisted any attempt by the Spaniards to land and establish a settlement in southern Florida. The growth of the forces of this association was facilitated by the long emigration of Indians from the Antilles and

the Bahamas and other territories of the West Indies under the influence of the encomienda system to south Florida. So the aborigines received information about the Spaniards, which led to the creation of their negative image among the tribes of southern Florida from the beginning of the XVI century. and the formation of a strong anti-Spanish alliance under the auspices of the Calusa tribe.

The lifestyle of the coastal tribes caused their disinterest in contacts with the Spaniards. The Calusa Indian community has developed into a unique "proto-state" or "stratified chiefdom" of fishermen-gatherers-hunters, based on a diet consisting of 80% fish (mainly black mullet). Thus, the local Indians had no problems providing themselves with food in the winter, and there was no need to grow cultivated plants. As a result, commodity exchange based on agricultural implements did not have much appeal for coastal tribes. In addition, frequent shipwrecks and emigration from nearby islands provided Calusa with European goods, which were always offered to start trade relations with the aborigines.

Brief bloody skirmishes with the Spaniards prevented the establishment of settlements in the region, and the victories of the Indians strengthened their faith in their gods with the rejection of a Christian religion alien to them.

In addition, the conquistadors were plagued by setbacks due to the choice for landing in southwest Florida of such places where there was the greatest concentration of Aboriginal forces.

France successfully exploited the fact that Spain was unable to build any outpost in the south of the Florida Peninsula in the first quarter of the XVI century. The French merchant fleet of the

Norman Jean Ango, consisting of seven dozen ships, provided them for lease for the trading operations of the Spaniards. This allowed the French to study well the ways of navigation between Europe and the New World and move on to illegal trade and piracy. France provided its ports and protection for pirating crews and stimulated their actions. This policy was connected with the desire of the French King Francis I to interrupt the chain of constant supplies of goods, gold and silver to Spain, which it used to pay for military operations in Europe.

Expeditions conducted under the French flag by Giovanni Verrazano limited the territory of Spanish Florida "de jure".

It should be noted that the discovery of the "Bahama Current" (the modern Gulf Stream) associated with the study of Florida accelerated navigation from the New to the Old World, determined the nature of navigation for many decades to come and gave impetus to further study of the water area. Anton de Alaminos, who was the chief pilot in the Ponce de Leon expedition in 1513, used new knowledge during the expedition of Francisco de Cordoba in 1517, when Yucatan was discovered, as well as in other expeditions - Juan de Grijalva in 1518, Alonso de Pineda in 1519 and Hernando Cortes in 1519. But even this discovery did not greatly accelerate the colonization of Florida itself.

Thus, the study is based on a comprehensive analysis of scattered data from the General Archive of the Indies (AGI), documents from the "Collection of Unpublished Documents concerning the Discovery, Conquest and Colonization of Spanish Possessions in America and Oceania, taken from the archives of the kingdom, and especially from India 1864-1884" (CDI),



"claims of the Columbians" (Pleitos Colombinos), archives of Europe, archives of Paris after 1816, archaeological data stored in Florida museums (Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville, Tampa Bay Historical Center, Episcopate Museum of Science and Nature), and also on the basis of the scientific works of those scientists who dealt with pre-Columbian history and the history of the colonial period of the XVI century., it allows us to explain the patterns of the failure of colonization of south Florida in the first quarter of the XVI century.

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[https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~248251~5516025:Plate-13-Facsimile-Cartography-1492?sort=Pub\\_List\\_No\\_InitialSort%2CPub\\_Date%2CPub\\_List\\_No%2CSeries\\_No&qvq=q:verrazano;sort:Pub](https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~248251~5516025:Plate-13-Facsimile-Cartography-1492?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:verrazano;sort:Pub)  
(дата обращения: 25.11.2021).

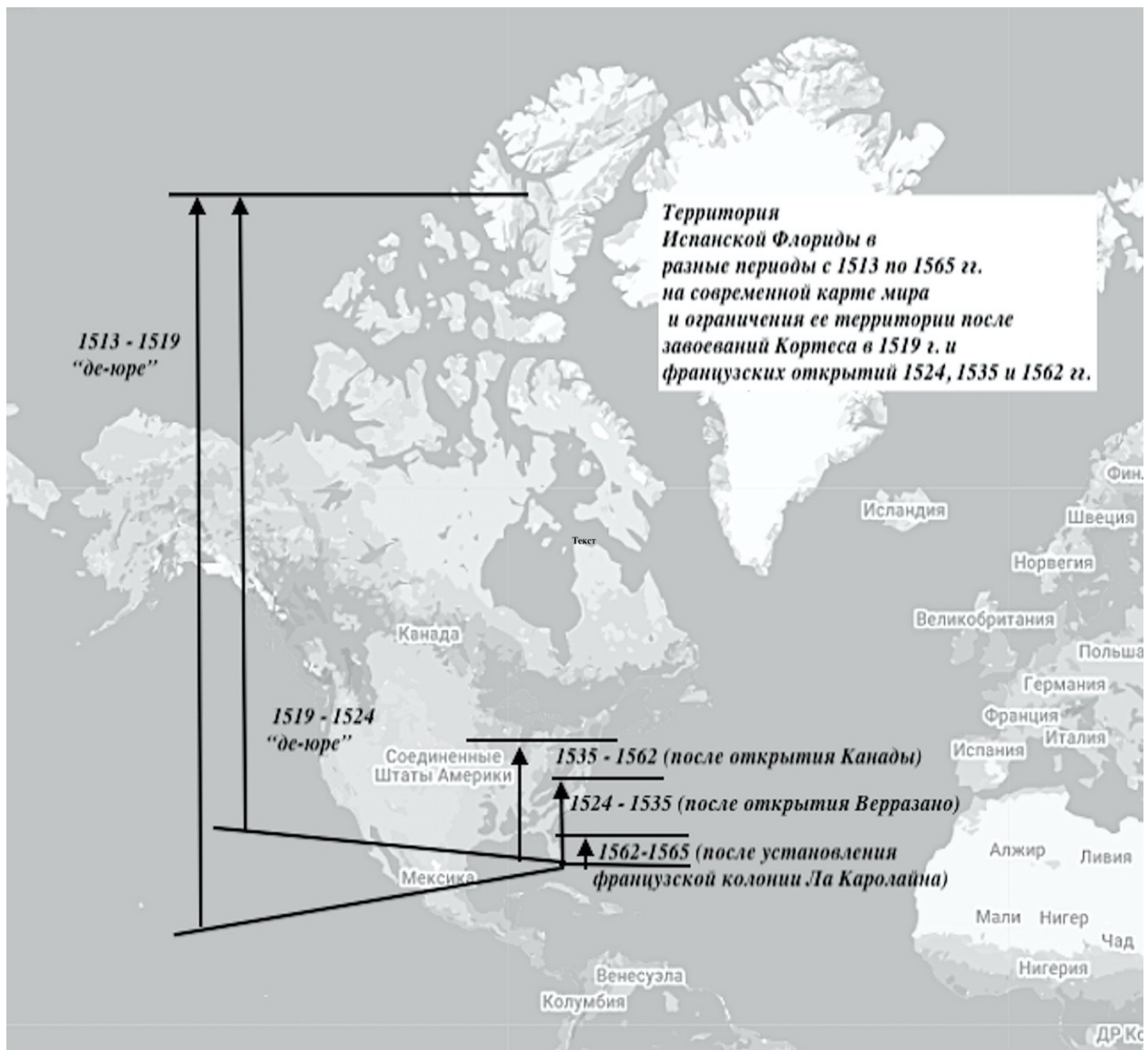
166. Peck, D. Misconceptions and Myths Related to the Fountain of Youth and Juan Ponce de Leon's 1513 Exploration Voyage / Peck, Douglas. – Текст: электронный. – URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080409062720/http://www.newworldexplorersinc.org/FountainofYouth.pdf> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021).
167. Prescott, W. H. The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Vol. 3 / William Hickling Prescott. – 10th edition. – London: Samuel Bentley, [1883]. – 616 p. – Текст: электронный // The Project Gutenberg eBook. – URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6968/pg6968-images.html> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021).
168. South Florida Archaeology & Ethnography. The Calusa Domain. – Текст: электронный // Florida Museum of Natural History. – URL: <https://www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/sflarch/research/calusa-domain/> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021).
169. Turner, F. J. The Frontier in American History / F. J. Turner. – New York: Henry Holt and company, 1921. – 375 p. – Текст: электронный // The Project Gutenberg eBook. – URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22994/22994-h/22994-h.htm> (дата обращения: 25.11.2021).
170. Worth, J. E. A History of Southeastern Indians in Cuba, 1513–1823 / John E Worth. Unpublished paper presented at

the Southeastern. – Текст: электронный // Gainesville, Fla: Florida Museum of Natural History. – 16 pages. – URL: <https://stjohnsriverecotours.com/index.php/books/1-a-history-of-southeastern-indians-in-cuba-1513-1823/file> (дата обращения: 26.11.2021).

171. Worth, J. The Social Geography of South Florida during the Spanish Colonial Era / J. Worth. – Текст: электронный // 71st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, San Juan, 2006, April 26–30. – Arlington, TX: Peter Lindeman Oakland Street Publishing, 2006. – URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251175150\\_The\\_Social\\_Geography\\_of\\_South\\_Florida\\_during\\_the\\_Spanish\\_Colonial\\_Era](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251175150_The_Social_Geography_of_South_Florida_during_the_Spanish_Colonial_Era) (дата обращения: 26.11.2021).

## Appendix <sup>549</sup>

Appendix No. 1.1. The "de jure" territory of Spanish Florida and its limitation as the French discovered from 1513 to 1565 on a modern map <sup>550</sup>.

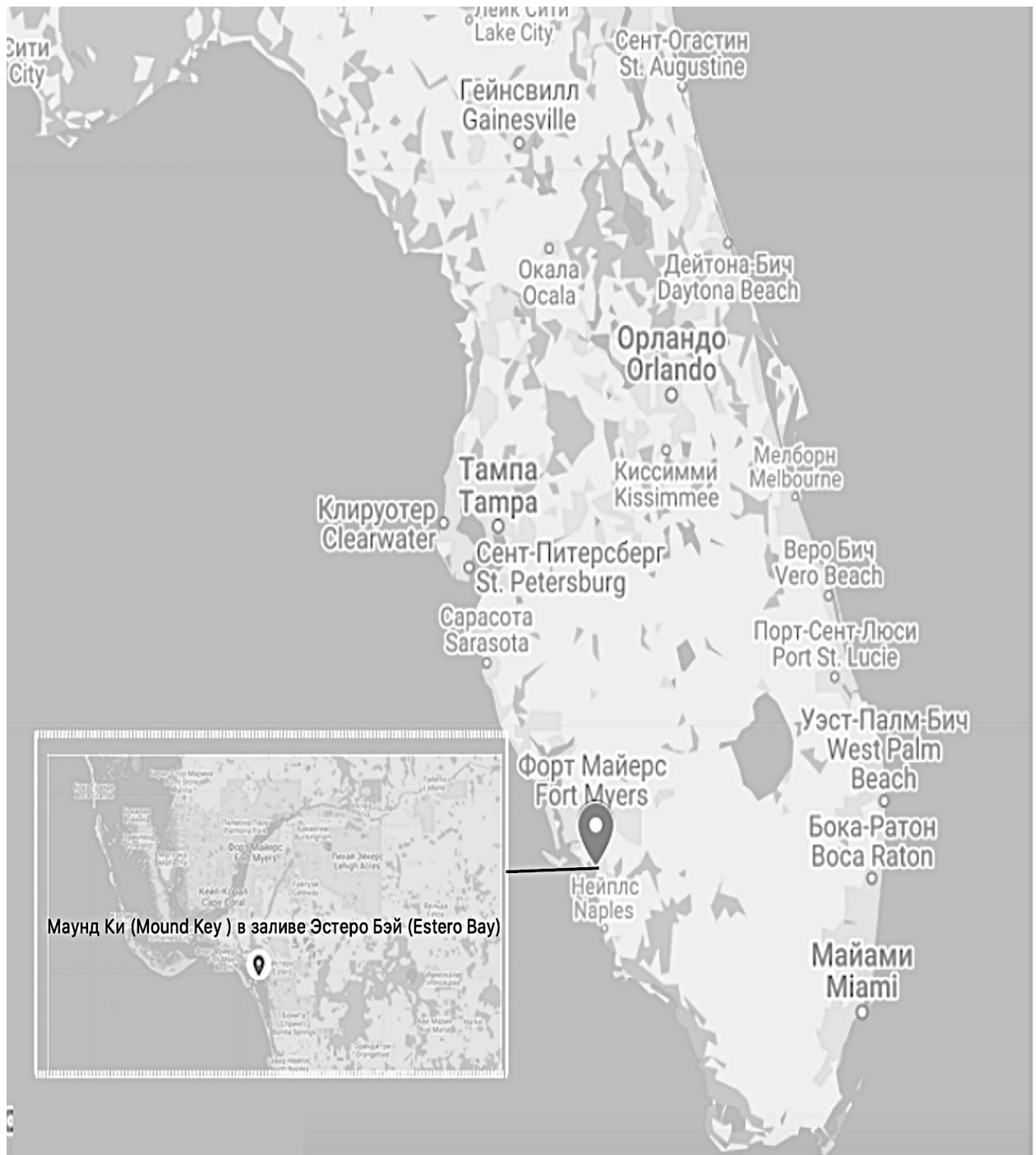


<sup>549</sup> Все приводимые в приложениях фотографии сделаны автором с разрешения соответствующих правообладателей.

<sup>550</sup> 17 декабря 2020 года на конференции Института этнологии и антропологии РАН, проходившей в содружестве с МАЭ (Кунсткамера) РАН в части раздела американского семинара на тему: «Что такое испанская Флорида? Вопросы картографии Испанской Флориды и известные племена. Разница в реальных и мнимых образах индейцев» (Институт истории РАН, Санкт-Петербург). URL: <https://iea-ras.ru/index.php?go=News&file=print&id=2319>



## Appendix No. 1.2. Location of the proposed capital of the Calusa Indians.



The capital of the "King of Calusa" was located on the island of Mound Key, which is located in Estero Bay, Florida, USA<sup>551</sup>.

<sup>551</sup> Episodic complexity and the emergence of a coastal kingdom: Climate, cooperation, and coercion in Southwest Florida / W. H. Marquardt, K. J. Walker, V. D. Thompson [и др.]. // Journal of Anthropological Archaeology. 2022. № 65. С. 2.

### Appendix No. 1.3. Navigation and routes of the Spanish "Treasure Fleet".



Navigation became possible after the discovery of the Florida Current (modern Gulf Stream) in 1513 by the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon and his helmsman Anton de Alaminos<sup>552</sup>.

<sup>552</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. К вопросу об открытии Флориды в 1513 году // Вестник МГОУ. Серия: История и политические науки. М., 2020. № 2. С. 166—174.

Appendix No. 1.4. The direction of Spanish ships to capture Indians from 1503 to 1525

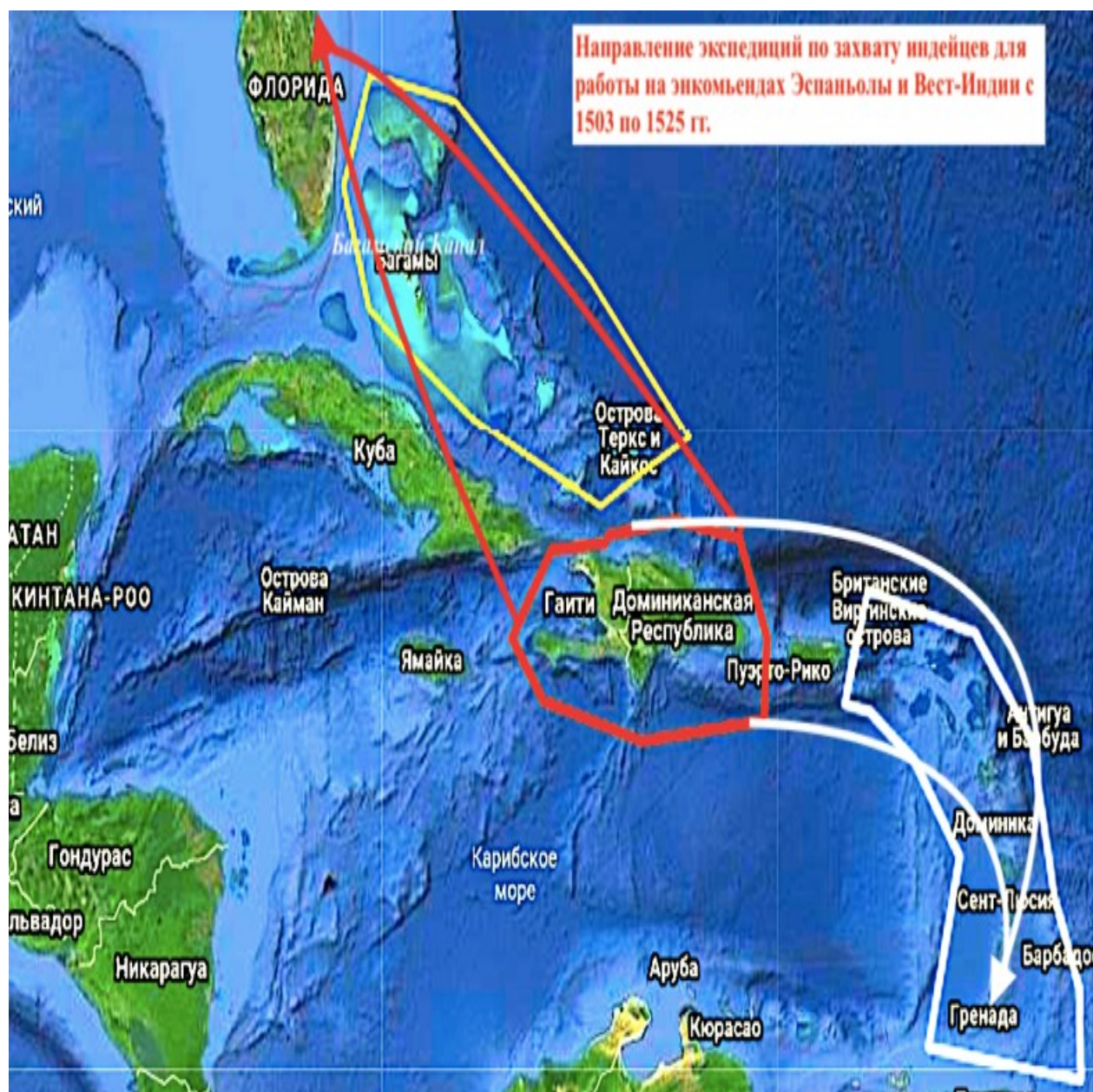
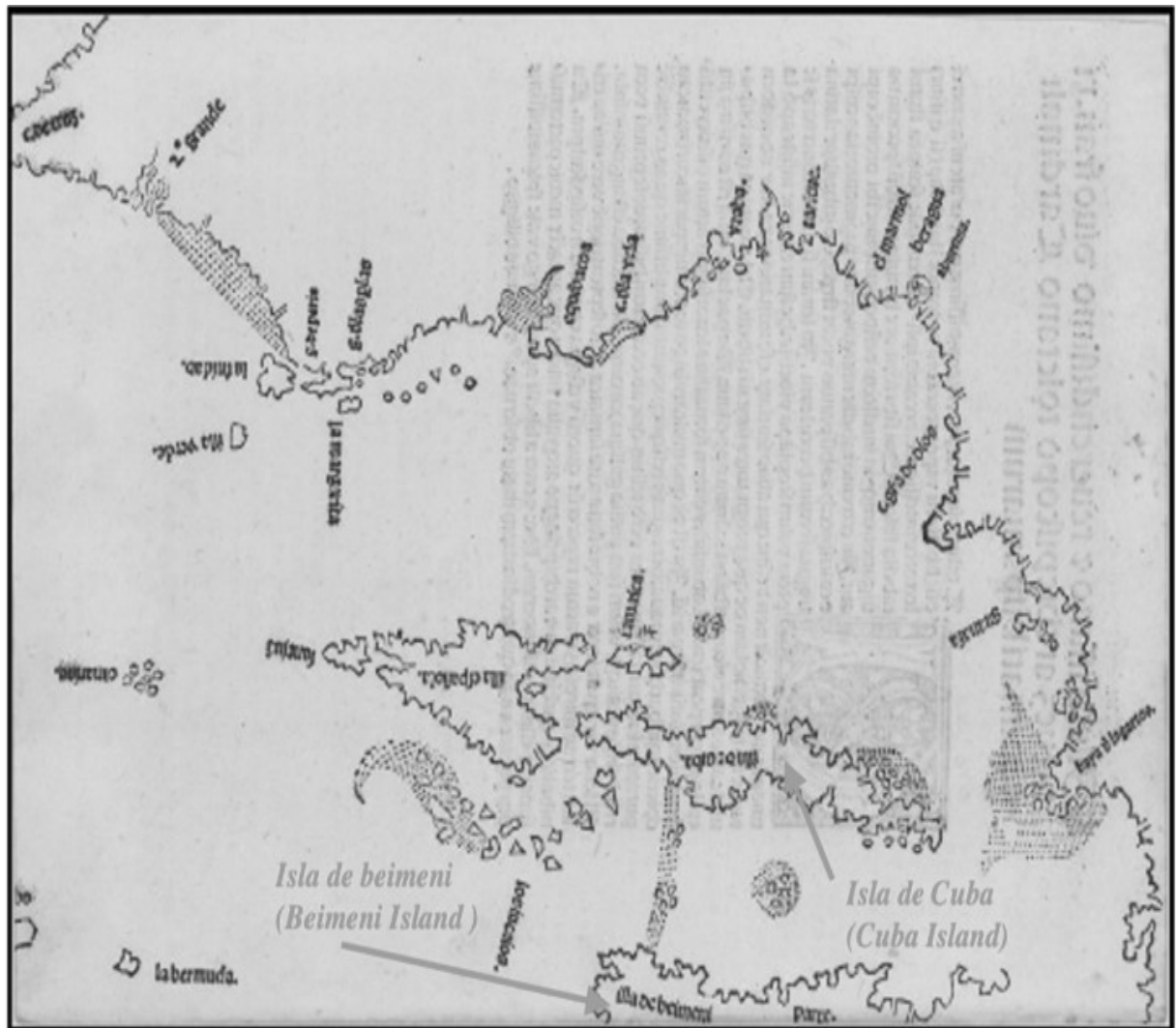


Рисунок Ашрафьяна К. Э.



Appendix No. 1.5. The Island of Bimini on the map of Pedro  
Mártir de Anglería (Pedro Mártir de Anglería)<sup>553</sup>.



Untitled map of the Caribbean

1511

Andrea Morales

Published in Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's Opera: Legatio Babylonica  
Occeani Decas

Touchton Map Library, Tampa Bay History Center, 2019.125.001

Gift of Arthur and Janet Holzheimer

<sup>553</sup> Map of the Martir de Angleria (Pedro Martir de Angleria). Photo by Ashrafyan. E., Tampa, Florida, USA to the Tampa Bay History Museum (Tampa Bay History Center (to be specified)).

Appendix No. 1.6. Part of a copy of the Alberto Cantino  
planisphere 1502.<sup>554</sup>



Part of the Cantino map of 1502, concerning the existence of the earth ("rediscovered" in 1513, the land named as Florida), located next to Cuba and Hispaniola.

The oldest surviving Portuguese navigation chart showing the results of the expeditions of Vasco da Gama, Christopher Columbus and other researchers. It also depicts the meridian separating the Portuguese and Spanish halves of the world, which was established in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas

<sup>554</sup> Nebenzahl K. Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries - Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of America. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990. C. 168.

Appendix No. 1.7.1. Martin Waldemuller's World Map  
1507.<sup>555</sup>



Appendix No. 1.7.2. Part of the map concerning North  
America by Nicolo Coveri (Nicolo Coveri [Canario]).<sup>556</sup>



<sup>555</sup> Duzer C. V. Martin Waldseemüller's 'Carta marina' of 1516. Study and Transcription of the Long Legends. Berlin, 2020. P. 150.

<sup>556</sup> Nebenzahl K. Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries - Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of America. Chicago, 1990. P. 168.



# Appendix No. 1.8. The path of the Ponce de Leon expeditions of 1513 and 1521.<sup>557</sup>



<sup>557</sup> Рисунок сделан Ашрафьяном К. Э. на современной карте на русском языке.

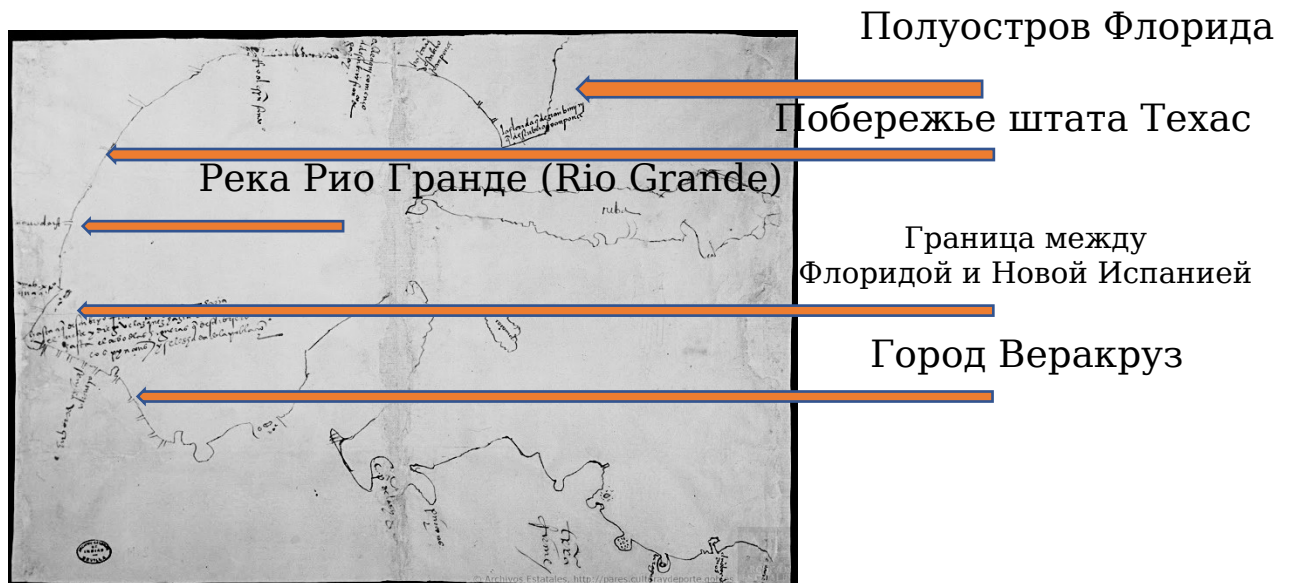
Appendix No.1.9. Map of the expedition of Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba in 1517 and Juan de Grijalva in 1518, which took place with the participation of pilot Anton de Alaminos, who was the chief pilot in the Ponce de Leon expedition in 1513.<sup>558</sup>



<sup>558</sup> Рисунок сделан Ашрафьяном К. Э. на современной карте на русском языке.



## Appendix No. 1.10. Map of Pineda-Garay 1519



The map was compiled after the tragic expedition of Pineda, sent by the Governor of Jamaica Garay.

Notas: 18 Soporte y Volumen 1 Mapa(s). Tamaño 31 x 43,5. Mapas: Escala original: Sin escala Observaciones: Toponimia en las costas. Альварес де Пинеда, Алонсо (1490-1520) - Главный архив Индии (Севиля, Испания)<sup>559</sup>.

***Translation of the description for this drawing from Spanish.***

A very simple and schematic drawing depicting the Gulf coast. These include the Florida Peninsula, Yucatan, the coast of Tierra del Fuego beyond Nombre de Dios, as well as the islands of Cuba and Cozumel. The estuaries of the river are marked by parallel lines on the coast. This indicates the delimitation of jurisdictions decided by Cristobal de Tapia in accordance with a royal decree that ordered him to set the limits of the discoveries of Juan Ponce de Leon, Juan de Garay and Diego Velasquez.

<sup>559</sup> Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla, España) // Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte - Gobierno de España: [página oficial]. URL: <https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/areas/archivos/mc/archivos/agi/portada.html>

Appendix No. 1.11. Routes of Giovanni Verrazano in 1524 and Pedro de Quejo in 1525.



Florentine Giovanni Verrazano went on an expedition under the French flag on two ships in 1524, and the route of the expedition of Pedro de Quejo (Quejo) took place in 1525. Drawing on a modern map of the USA. Drawing by Ashrafyan K. E.

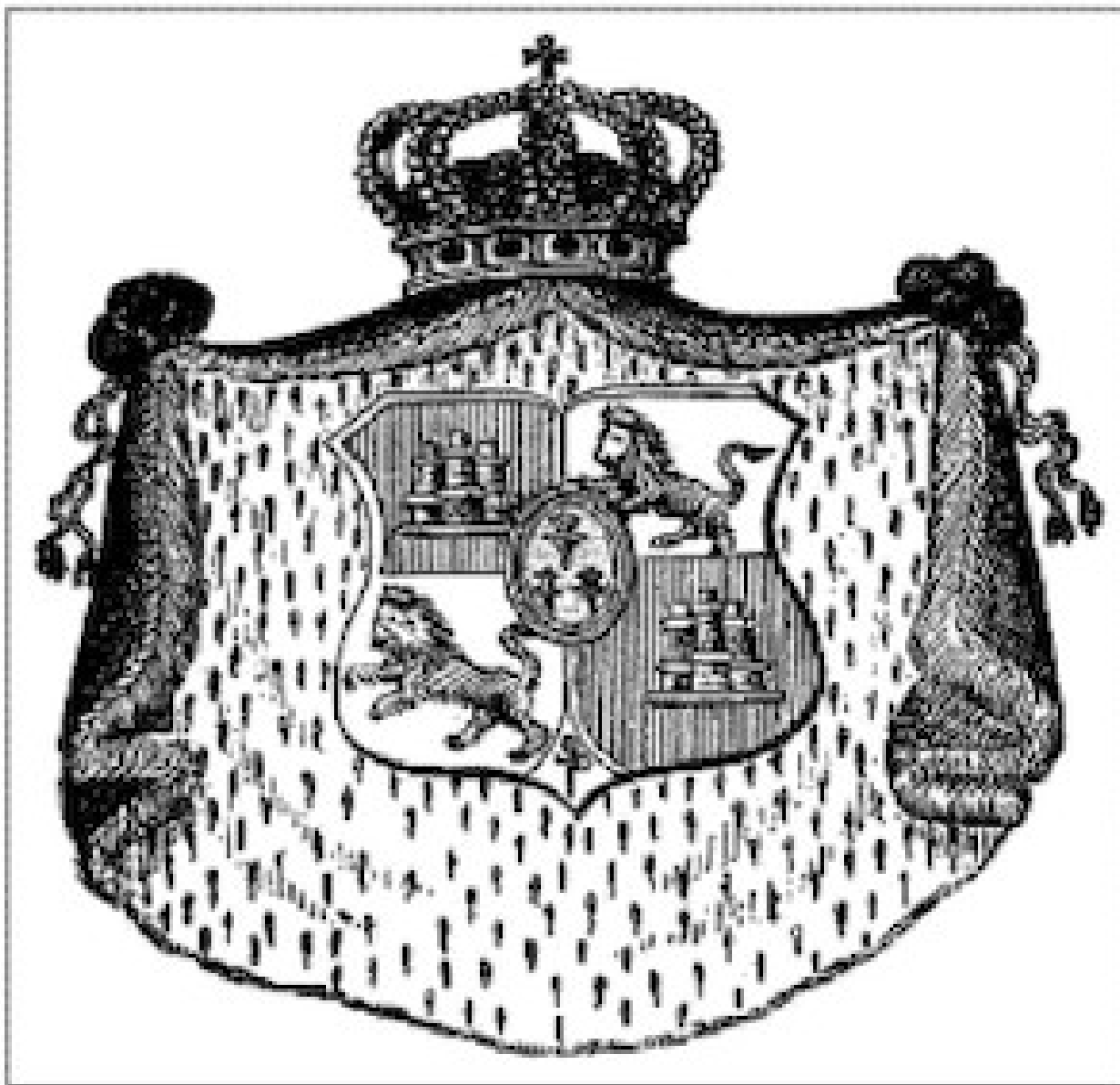
Appendix No. 1.12. Map of the 1529 expedition of the Italian Verrazano 1524.



The expedition took place in 1524 under the French flag, and the map was published after the death of Verrazano in 1528 <sup>560</sup>.

<sup>560</sup> Paullin, C. O. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. 1932. URL: [https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~248251~5516025:Plate-13-Facsimile-Cartography-1492?sort=Pub\\_List\\_No\\_InitialSort%2CPub\\_Date%2CPub\\_List\\_No%2CSeries\\_No&qvq=q:verrazano;sort:Pub\\_List\\_No\\_InitialSort%2CPub\\_Date%2CPub\\_List\\_No%2CSeries\\_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=6&trs=133](https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~248251~5516025:Plate-13-Facsimile-Cartography-1492?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:verrazano;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=6&trs=133) pdf

## Appendix No. 1.13. Coat of arms of Juan Ponce de Leon



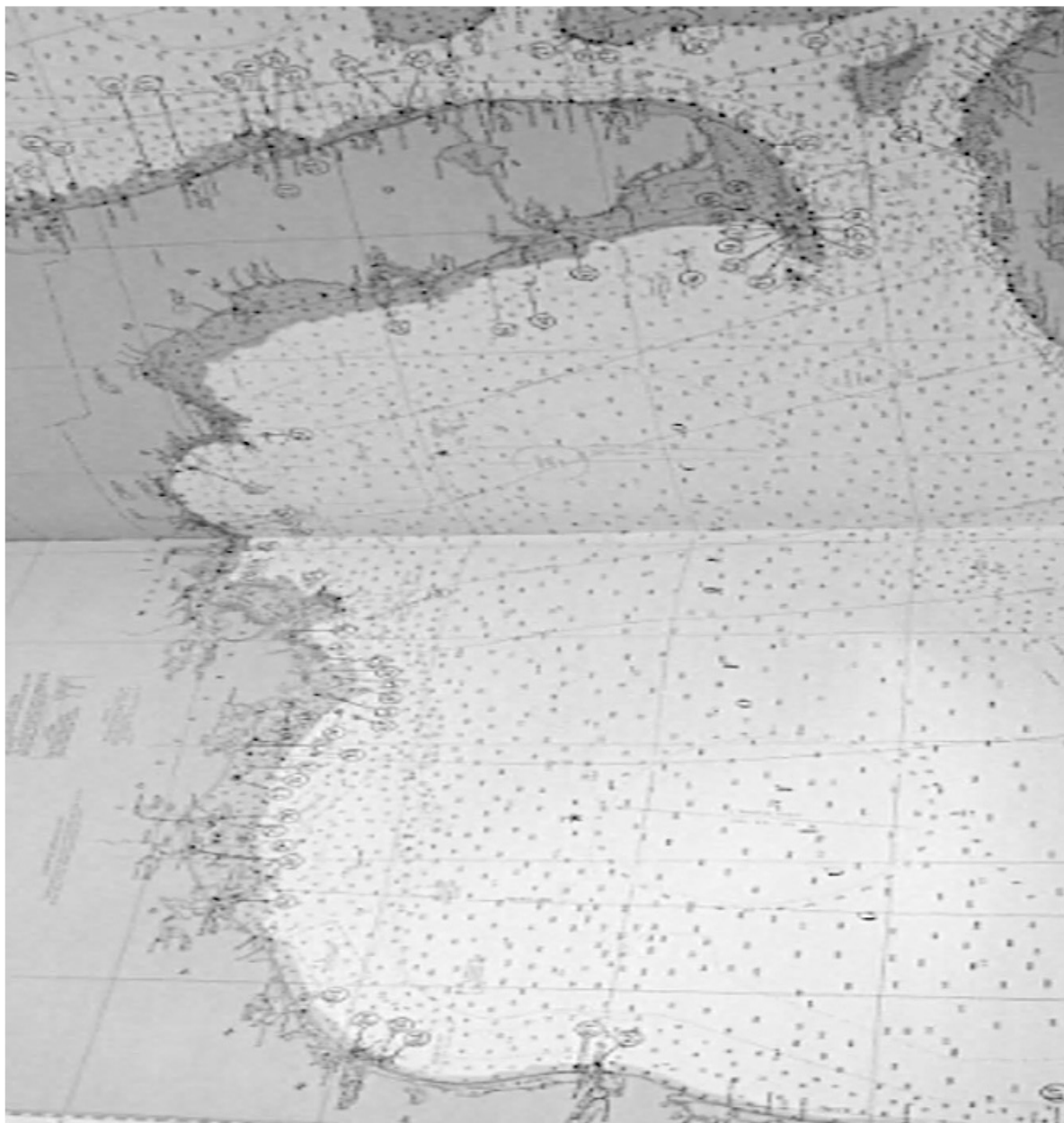
Ponce de Leon Shield

The coat of arms was given to Ponce de Leon after his return to Spain in 1514 by Ferdinand II of Aragon for the discovery of Florida and Bimini

<sup>561</sup>

<sup>561</sup> Browne Ayes, J. J. Juan Ponce de Leon: His New and Revised Genealogy. Morrisville, 2010. P. 543.

Appendix No. 1.14. Map with places of shipwreck around  
the Florida Peninsula <sup>562</sup>.



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<sup>562</sup> Coffman, F. L.V. Atlas of Treasure Maps: [Over 3000 Location of Sunken or Buried Treasures In The Western Hemisphere & Britain] Nashville, 1957. P. 126.

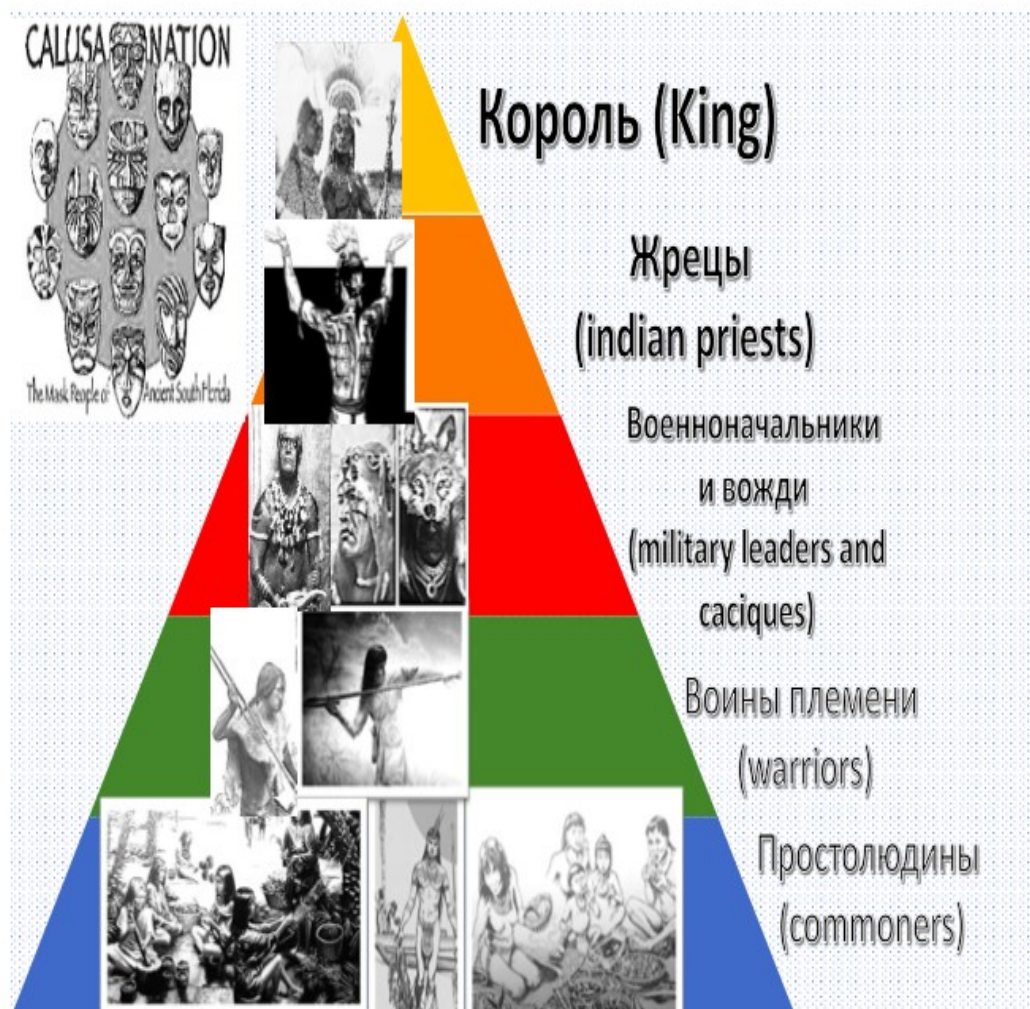


Appendix No. 1.15. Settlement of tribes on the Florida Peninsula in the XVI century.



The drawing includes realistic images of Indians made by artist Theodore Morris together with Professor Milanich (J.T. Milanich), curator of the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville. The drawing is taken exclusively for this dissertation in Russian with the consent of Theodore Morris.





**Рис. 2. Социальная пирамида племени Калуса, сложившееся к XVI в.**

<sup>563</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Гипотеза о неизбежности провала попыток освоения юга полуострова Флорида с 1513 г. по 1525 г. (Глава 8.) //Наука, образование, общество в условиях цифровизации: монография / Под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева. Пенза: Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение» , 2021. С. 143—156.

## Appendix No. 1.17.1. Calusa masks and memorial plaque.



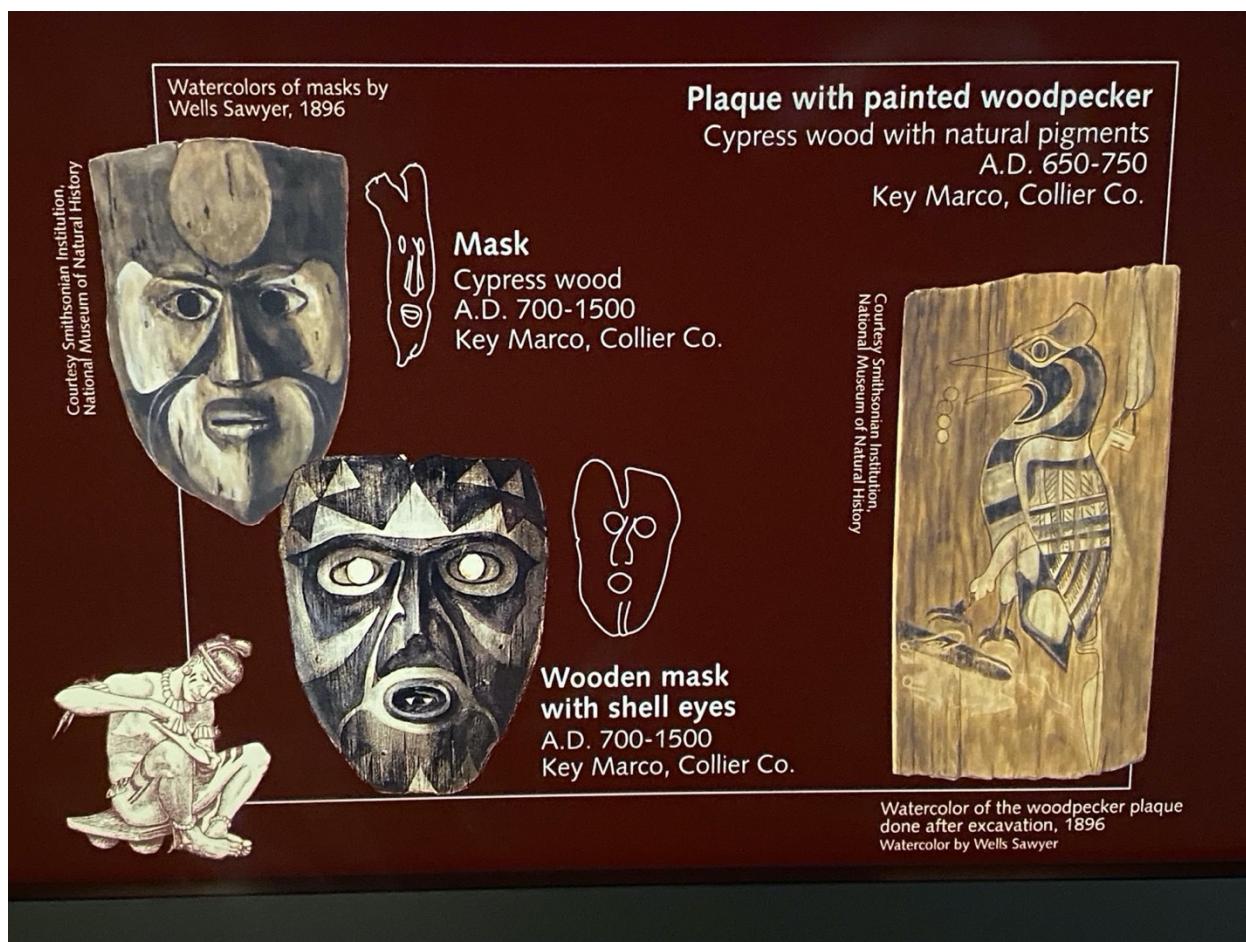
Cal  
usa masks. Photo by the author from the Natural History Museum in  
Gainesville. Cypress tree





A plaque with a painted woodpecker. Photo by the author from the Natural History Museum in Gainesville.

## Пояснение к экспонатам музея.

**Перевод описания экспонатов.**

Маски были найдены Фрэнком Кушингом в Ки Марко в 1896 году. «Маски были исключительно хорошо смоделированы и были в натуральную величину выдолблены так, чтобы соответствовать лицу. (Фрэнк Гамильтон Кушинг (*Frank Hamilton Cushing*), 1896 г.).

**Акварельные маски от Уэлл Сойер, найдены в 1896 г.**

Маска из кипарисового дерева, найдена в Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

700-1500 гг. н. э.

**Деревянная маска с глазами-раковинами 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.**

Мемориальная доска с нарисованным дятлом, древесина, кипарис с натуральными пигментами 650-750 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.



## Appendix No. 1.17.2. Calusa Masks.



Фото автора из музея Естественной Истории в Гейнсвилле. Резная работа.

***Перевод описания экспонатов.***

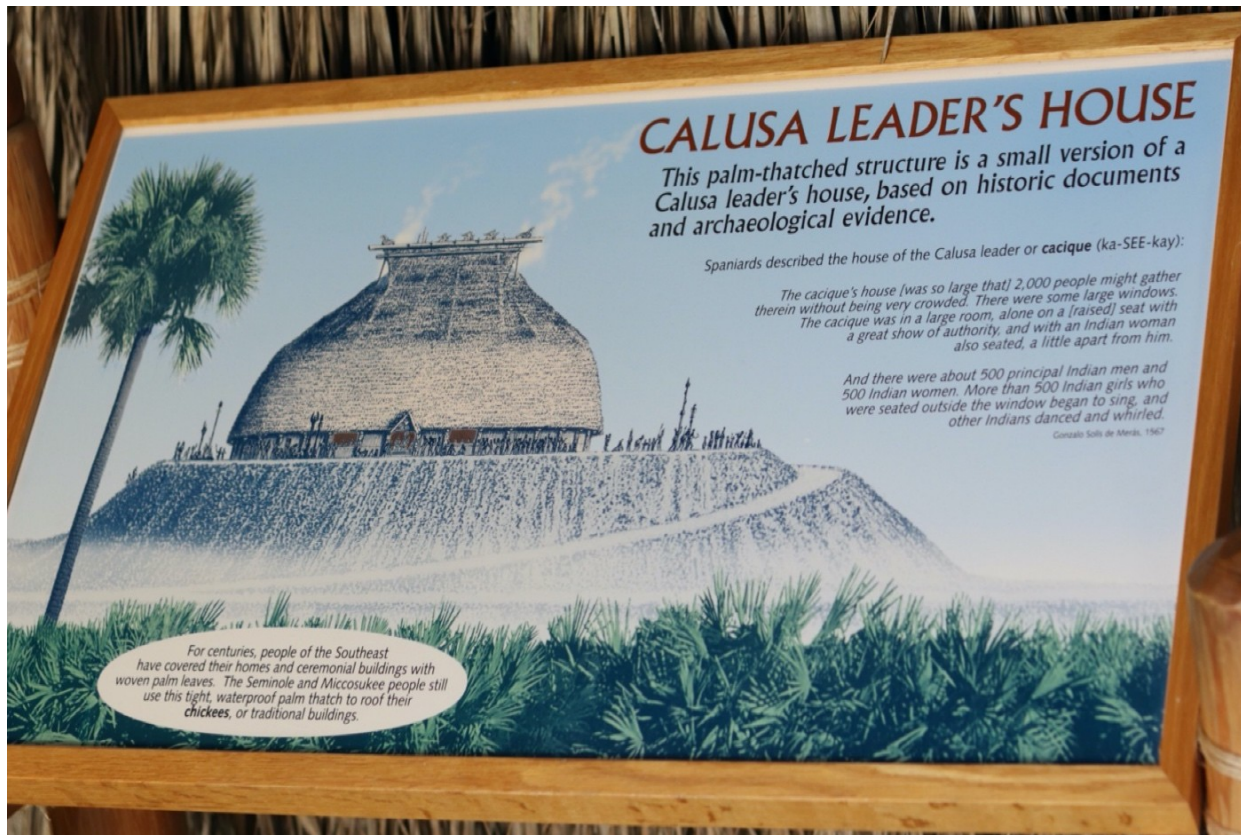
Слева внизу. Вырезанная и раскрашенная голова оленя. Дерево и краска, 700–1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, каунти Коллер (реплика, оригинал в Музее Археологии и Антропологии. Пенсильвании).

Слева вверху и левая фотография.

Вырезанный и раскрашенная голова волка. Дерево, 700–1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, каунти Коллер (реплика, оригинал в Музее Археологии и Антропологии. Пенсильвании).



## Appendix No. 1.18. The House of the Leader of the Kallus.

**Перевод описания экспонатов.****Дом Вождя Калусы.**

Это сооружение с пальмовой крышей представляет собой уменьшенную версию Дома Вождя Калусы, основанный на исторических документах и археологических свидетельствах.

Испанцы описали дом вождя калуса или касика (*ka-SEE-kay*):

«Дом касика был таким большим, что 2000 человек могли собраться там, не будучи очень переполненными: там было несколько больших окон. И там было около 500 главных индийских мужчин и 500 индийских женщин. Больше, чем 500 индийских девушек, которые сидя за окном начали петь, а другие индейцы танцевали и кружились.»

(Гонсало Солис де Мерас (*Gonzalo Solis de Meras*), 1567).

На протяжении веков жители Юго-Востока покрывали свои дома и церемониальные здания плетеными пальмовыми листьями. Жители Семинолов и Миккосуки до сих пор используют эту плотную водонепроницаемую пальмовую солому для крыши своих курятников или традиционных сооружений.



Appendix No. 1.19. Javelin throwing with the help of an Atlatl.

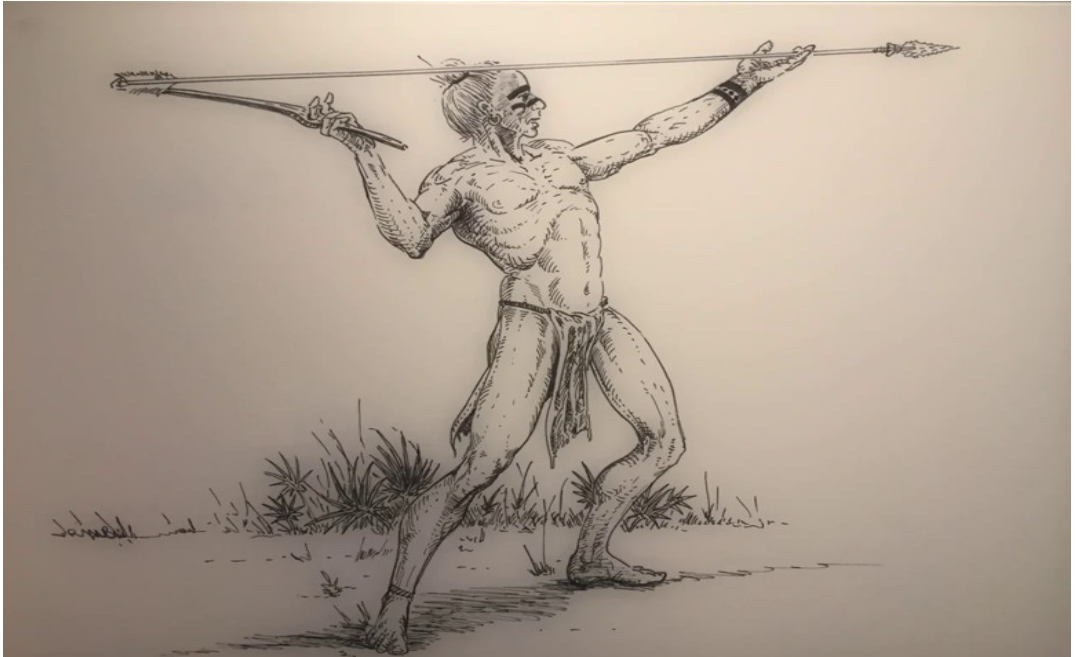


Фото автора, г. Тампа, США в Музей Истории Залива Тампа (Tampa Bay History Center (TBHC)). Атлатл ускорял скорость дротика-копья до 100 км в час.



Индеец племени Калуса бросает копье с помощью копьеметалки - Атлатла. Музей Естественной Истории Флориды. Фото автора.



## Appendix No. 1.20. Weapons of the tribe of Indians of South Florida.



Меч с акульими зубами. Фото автора. Музей Естественной Истории Флориды. Оригинальный артефакт, который представлен здесь, был найден в районе Ки Марко в каунти (округе) Кольер и мог быть оружием или, возможно, сверхмощный режущий инструмент. Репродукция Давида Мео.



Топоры индейцев Флориды. Топоры, сделанные из камней и ракушек. Фото автора. Музей Де Сото, г. Брейдентон, Флорида, США.



Appendix No. 1.21. Weapons and tools of the tribes of southern Florida.



Оружие и инструменты племен юга Флориды.  
Фотография автора из Музея де Сото. 2015. Фото топоров Музей  
Естественной Истории: г. Гейнсвилле, Флорида, США.



Оружие и украшения племен юга Флориды.

Фотография автора реконструкции оружия из Музея де Сото.  
2015. Фото топоров Музей Естественной Истории: г. Гейнсвилле,  
Флорида, США.

Appendix No. 1.22. Reconstruction of weapons of Florida Indians and Spaniards in the XVI century.



Парк де Сото. Выставка реконструкция оружия. Брэйдентон, Флорида, США. Фото автора.





### **Перевод описания коллекции артефактов.**

Снасти, пальмовое волокно, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ  
Кольер, Флорида, США

Якорный коралл, 1200–1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида, США.



Музей Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле в 2021 г.  
(Florida Museum of Natural History). Фото Ашрафьяна К. Э.

***Перевод коллекции артефактов.***

Молотки, раковина моллюсков, 800-1350 гг. н. э., Пайнлэнд Сайт  
Комплекс, каунти, Ли, Флорида, США

Молоток с фрагментом деревянной ручки, спиральная раковина и  
дерево, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида, США

Раковина моллюска, 400-800 гг. н. э, Хоррс Айленд, округ Кольер,  
Флорида

Спиральная раковина, 800-1350 гг. н. э., Чокоски Ки, округ  
Кольер, Флорида

Блюдце, раковина моллюска 700-1500 гг., Ки Марко, округ  
Кольер, Флорида, США

***(номер в коллекции 768-40893, 4-66-08)***

Чашка или блюдце, раковина моллюска 550-1500 гг., Ки Марко,  
округ Кольер, Флорида, США.

***Режущие кромкообрезные инструменты***

Раковина моллюска, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки, округ Кольер, Флорида  
***(номер в коллекции 196-40321, 4-66-08)***

Раковина моллюска, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки, округ Кольер.

Раковина моллюска, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки, округ Кольер.

Раковина моллюска, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки, округ Кольер.

Спиралевидная раковина моллюска, 700-1500 гг., Ки Марко, округ  
Кольер, Флорида, США.

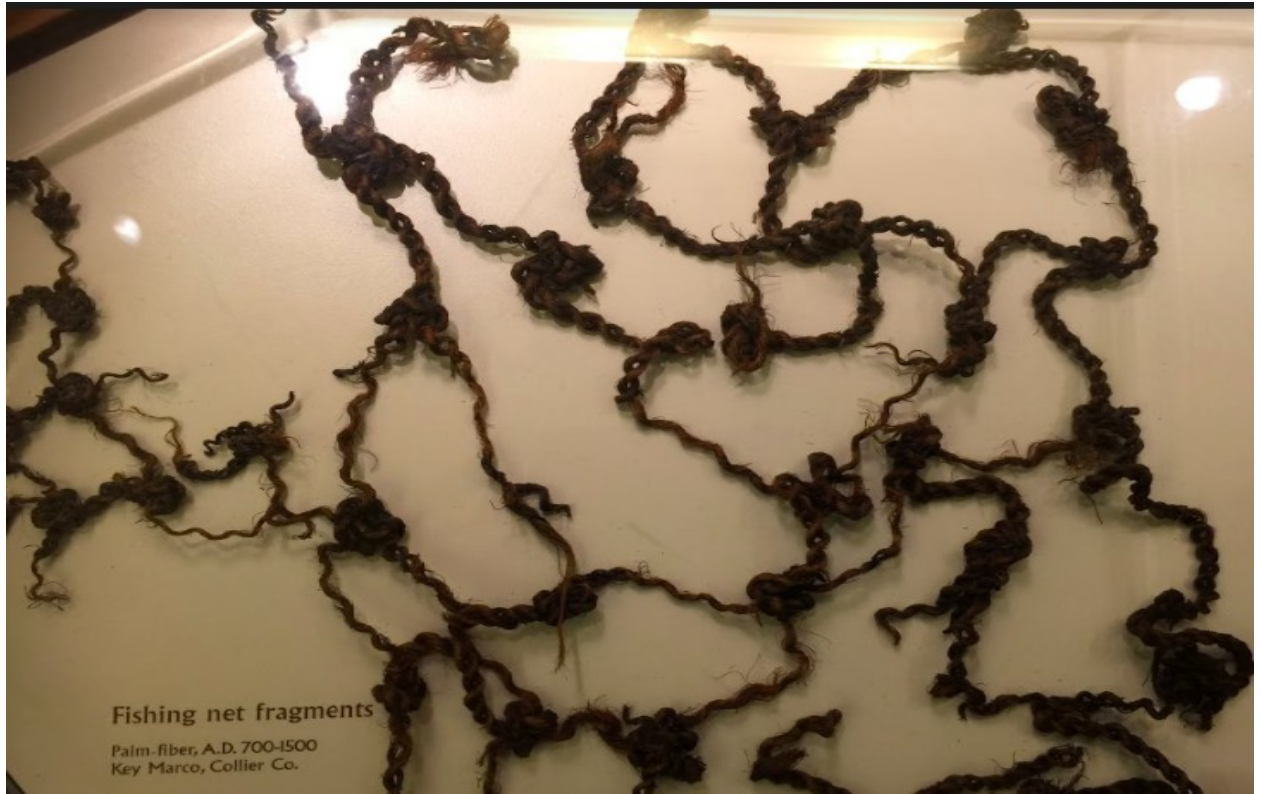
Раковина моллюска, дата неопределена, Усепа Айленд, округ Ли

Ложка или совок, раковина моллюска, 200 г. до н. э.- 400 г. н. э.,  
Кэш Маунд, округ Шарлотта, Флорида.

Грузило, раковина и корпус моллюска, 700-1500 гг., Ки Марко,  
округ Кольер, Флорида, США.



Нож, раковина солнечного луча Венеры, 500-800 гг. н. э.,  
Пайнлэнд Сайт Комплекс, каунти, Ли, Флорида, США **(номер в коллекции 92-17-2/2).**



Музей Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле в 2021 г.  
(Florida Museum of Natural History). Фото Ашрафьяна К. Э.

Рыболовные снасти у племени Калуса. Музей Естественной  
Истории Флориды. Фото автора 2021.

Appendix No. 1.24. Map of the settlement of Florida Indians around the middle of the XVI century.

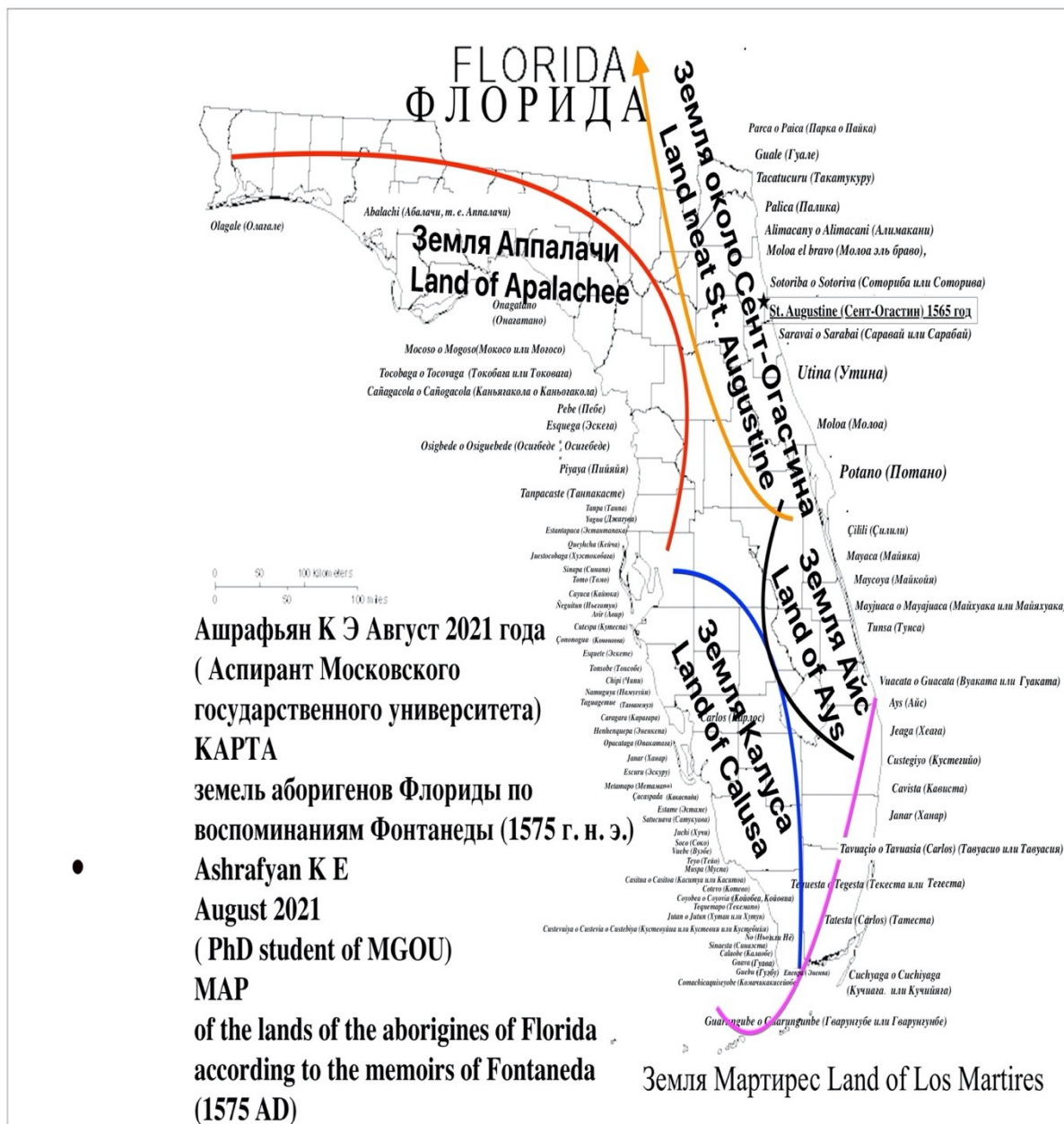


The map of the settlement of the Indians of Florida is based on materials compiled from the scientific literature of the XX-XXI century and the memoirs of 1575 by Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda <sup>564</sup>.

<sup>564</sup> Ашрафьян, К. Э. Сведения о расселении и карта племен аборигенов на полуострове Флорида в XVI веке: история возвращения и небытия. // Лучшая научно-исследовательская работа 2021 : сборник статей XXXII Международного научно-исследовательского конкурса, состоявшегося 15 августа 2021 г. в г. Пенза. Пенза, 2021. С. 50—55.



Appendix No. 1.25. Map of the chiefs and tribes of Florida.



Карта вождей и племен Флориды к середине XVI в., сделанная по воспоминаниям Эрнандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда<sup>565</sup>.

<sup>565</sup> Ашрафьян, К. Э. Земли индейцев Флориды в середине XVI в.: карта вождей Флориды по воспоминаниям Эрнандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда. Современные научные исследования. // Актуальные вопросы, достижения и инновации: сборник статей XX международной научно-практической конференции, Пенза, 15 августа 2021. Пенза, 2021. С. 107—111.

Appendix No. 1.26. Memorial plate of the history of Princess Irrihigua (Hirrihigua).



Фото и перевод автора мемориальной доски об истории спасения испанца Ортиза дочерью вождя аборигенов Ирриигва (Hirrihigua), живущих в заливе Тампа.

**Перевод мемориальной плиты.**

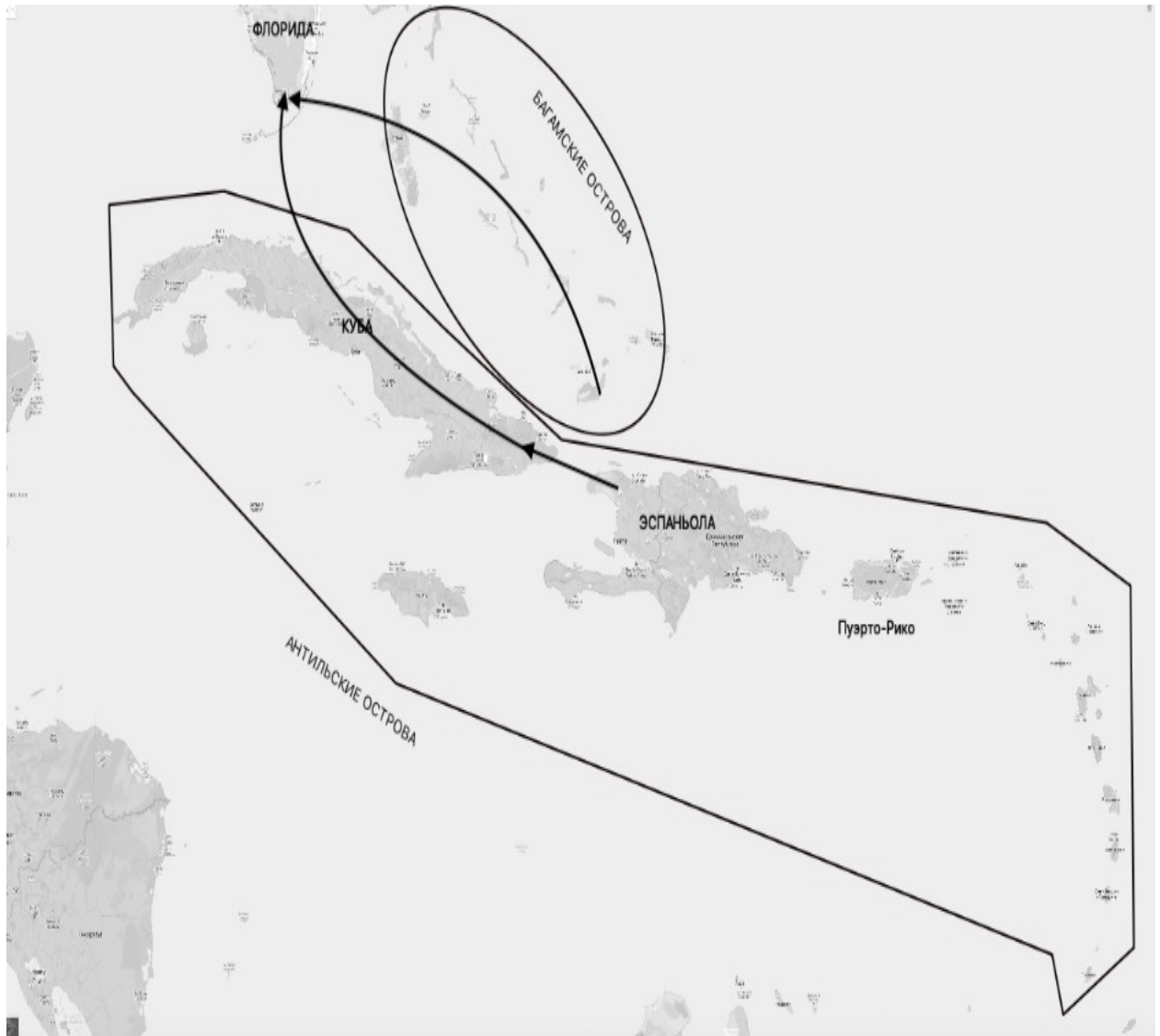
**История принцессы Ирриигва (Hirrihigua)**

В 1525 году Хуан Ортис (Juan Ortiz), член экспедиции, посланной с Кубы на поиски Панфилио де Нарваэса (Panfilo de Narvaez), был схвачен индейцами Тимукуа (Timucan), вождем Ирриигва (Hirrihigua), их законы отвергали белых людей из-за насилия, учиненного Нарваэсом. Ортиз был приговорен к смертной казни, но старшая принцесса Ирриигва - дочь вождя умоляла отца и спасла ему жизнь. Принцесса Ирриигва (Hirrihigua), трижды спасала Ортиза от смерти, а когда его жизнь снова оказалась в опасности, она помогла ему сбежать к субтимуканскому племени своего суженого - вождя Мукосо (Mucoso). Вождь Ирриигва (Hirrihigua), был так рассержен побегом Ортиза, что отказался позволить принцессе Ирриигва (Hirrihigua), выйти замуж за вождя Мукосо (Mucoso). В 1559 году Эрнандо де Сото спас Ортиза, который стал его проводником и переводчиком.

Мемориал был возведен принцессе Ирриигва (Hirrihigua) лидерами дочерей американской революции в ознаменование их пятидесятой годовщины 1910 г. - 1965 г.



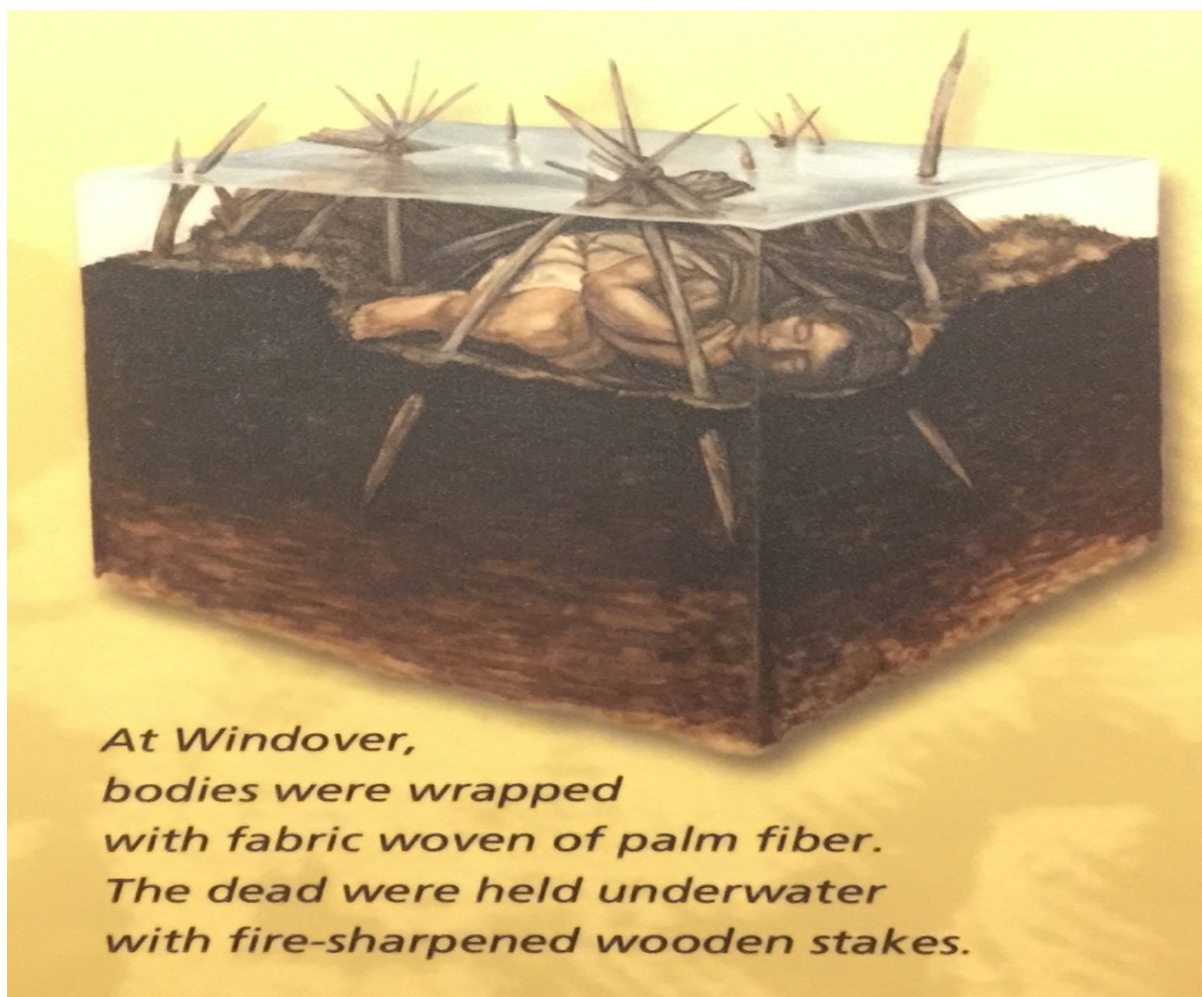
# Appendix No. 1.27. Direction of Indian immigration in the 16th century



Направление иммиграции: Эспаньола – Куба – Флорида и острова Лукайос (Багамские острова) – Флорида<sup>566</sup>.

<sup>566</sup> Ашрафьян К. Э. Гипотеза о неизбежности провала попыток освоения юга полуострова Флорида с 1513 г. по 1525 г. (Глава 8.) // Наука, образование, общество в условиях цифровизации: монография / Под общ. ред. Г. Ю. Гуляева. Пенза: Международный центр научного сотрудничества «Наука и просвещение», 2021. С. 143–156.

Appendix No. 1.28. Type of burials of Florida Indians in water.



*At Windover,  
bodies were wrapped  
with fabric woven of palm fiber.  
The dead were held underwater  
with fire-sharpened wooden stakes.*

Музей Естественной истории Флориды. Фото автора.



## Appendix No. 1.29 . Bust to the Indians of Florida.



Бюст аборигенам Флориды в парке г. Тампа. Фото Ашрафьяна К. Э.  
**Авторский перевод текста на табличке.**

Первые люди Флориды – строители курганов  
10.000 ДО Н. Э. -- 1.700 Г. Н. Э.

За тысячи лет до того, как Хуан Понсе де Леон высадился на берегах Флориды, или до того, как белые поселенцы основали Форт Брук и поселение Тампа, Палео-Индейцы населяли эту область, По прошествии веков эти "Первые флоридцы" образовали отдельные

группы племен. Двумя крупнейшими были Тимукуа (Timucua), живущие в северной Флориде, и Калюза (Calusa), занимающие южную часть, они боролись за территорию, и вполне вероятно, что район залива Тампа был спорной землей, а меньшая группа - мокосо (Mocoso), жила в заливе Хилсборо (Hillsborough), между рекой Хилсборо (Hillsborough River) и рекой Алафия (Alafia River). Их территория включала то, что сейчас является центром города Тампа. Первые жители Флориды использовали Мексиканский залив для своих основных поставок продовольствия и были опытными моряками. Они сооружали большие земляные или ракушечные насыпи, некоторые из них для церемониальных или духовных целей. Многочисленные курганы усеивали ландшафт вокруг района Тампа-Бэй, в том числе один исключительно высокий, который стоял на том, что впоследствии станет южным краем Форт-Брука, расположенного недалеко от сегодняшней хоккейной арены. В конце 1600-х и начале 1700-х годов племена Флориды, включая уроженцев залива Тампа, были уничтожены европейскими болезнями, такими как корь, оспа и грипп, а также войнами и набегами работорговцев.

Посвящается друзьям RIVERWALK, INC. 2012



## Appendix No. 1.30. Memorial plaque in Ruskin Park

**Памятная табличка в парке Раскина. Фото автора.**

Памятная табличка в парке Раскина с указанием о том, что на этой земле жило с 800 г. н. э. до 1500 г. н. э. племя индейцев Токобага. Фото автора, район Раскина, округ Хилсборо, штат Флорида, США.

**English text.**

AD 800? - AD 1500:

Occupation by Amerindian peoples, possibly Timucuan, builders of the temple mound and village middens. Throughout their time here, Amerindians used the natural resources of their environs under a complex spiritual ceremonial lifestyle which sustained indigenous people until their gradual disappearance throughout Southern Florida mid 1700s

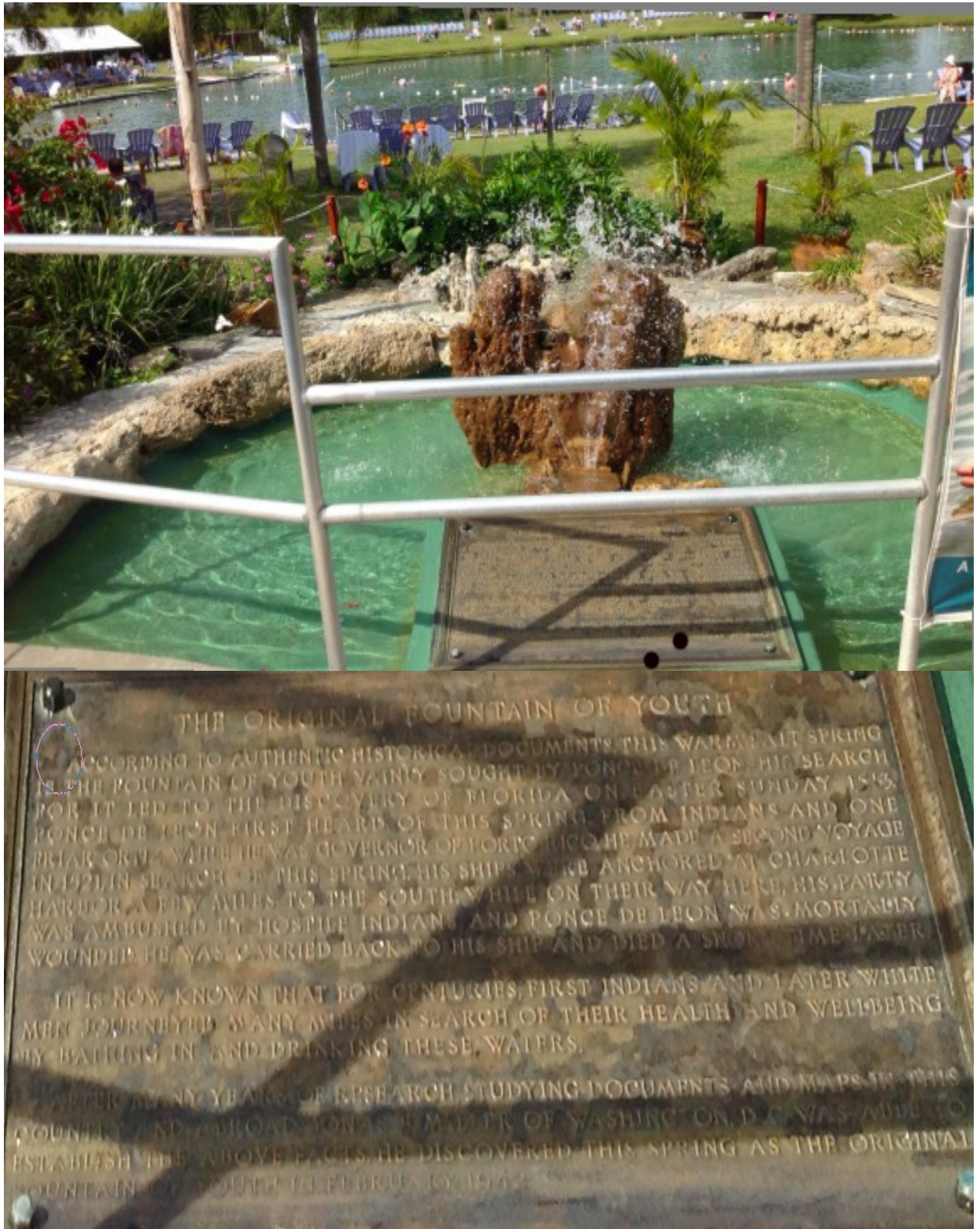
**Авторский перевод на русский язык.**

800 год нашей эры? - 1500 г. н. э.:

Место, которое занималось индейскими народами, возможно индейцами Тимукуа, строивших храмовые курганы на оставленных кучах мусора. На протяжении всего своего пребывания здесь индейцы использовали природные ресурсы своих окрестностей в рамках сложного духовного церемониального образа жизни, который поддерживал коренных жителей до их постепенного исчезновения в Южной Флориде в середине 1700-х годов



Appendix No. 1.31. Commemorative plaque on the existence of the "Fountain of Youth".



Фотография и перевод памятной таблички, установленной на территории Теплого Минерального Источника в городе Норд Порт,

округа Сарасота, штата Флорида в США. (Warm Mineral Spring, North Port, Sarasota County, Florida, USA). Фото автора.

***The original text.***

According to authentic historical documents, this warm salt spring is the Fountain of Youth sought by Ponce de Leon. His search for it led to the discovery of Florida on Easter Sunday 1513.

Ponce de Leon first heard of this spring from Indians and one friar Ortiz while he was Governor of Porto Rico. He made a second voyage in 1521 in search of this spring. His ships were anchored at Charlotte Harbor a few miles to the south while on their way here. His party was ambushed by hostile Indians and Ponce de Leon was mortally wounded. He was carried back to this ship and died a short time later.

It is now known that for centuries first Indians and later white men journeyed many miles in search of their health and wellbeing by bathing and drinking these waters.

After many backs of research studying documents and maps in this country and abroad Jonas Miller of Washington d c washable to establish the above facts.

He discovered this spring as the original fountain of youth in February 1942.

***Авторский перевод Ашрафьяна К. Э. на русский язык.***

Оригинальный фонтан молодости.

Согласно подлинным историческим документам, этот теплый соляной источник является Источником Молодости, к которому стремился Понсе де Леон. Его поиски привели к открытию Флориды в Пасхальное воскресенье 1513 года.

Понсе де Леон впервые услышал об этом источнике от индейцев и одного монаха Ортиза, когда он был губернатором Пуэрто-Рико. Он совершил второе путешествие в 1521 году в поисках этого источника. Его корабли бросили якорь на в гавани Шарлотты в нескольких милях к югу, пока они двигались сюда. Его отряд попал в засаду враждебных индейцев, и Понсе де Леон был смертельно ранен. Его перенесли обратно на корабль и вскоре он умер.

Теперь известно, что в течение многих веков первые индейцы, а затем белые люди путешествовали много миль в поисках своего здоровья и благополучия, купаясь и употребляя эти воды.

После многих лет исследований, изучающих документы и карты в этой стране и за рубежом, Джон Миллер из Вашингтона решил установить вышеуказанные факты.

Он открыл этот источник как оригинальный фонтан молодости в феврале 1942 года.



Appendix No. 1.32. Reconstruction of life in the village of  
the Calusa tribe.



Спаренное каноэ, сделанное племенем Калуса. Фото автора.  
Фотография автора из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды.

Appendix No. 1.33. Map of Florida Conte de Ottomano  
Feduci. 1514-1515



Фотография автора из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды.

Карта Флориды, основанные на открытиях экспедиции Понсе де Леона. Конте де Оттомано Федучи, около 1514-1515 гг. Фото в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Авторское разрешенное фото специально для диссертации.



## Appendix No. 1.34. Calusa Indian Society.



Фотография из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды. Фото автора 2021 г.

**Перевод Ашрафьяна К.Э. стенда «Общество калуса».**

Испанцы описывали общество калуса как разделенные на знать и простых людей. Испанское общество было организовано так же, таким образом, поэтому испанцы могли неправильно интерпретировать то, что они видели. Но это кажется точным то, что маленькая группа лидеров принимала решения для индейцев калуса и снабжалась защитой. Простые люди обеспечивали труд на общественных работах и продукты питания для знати.

Вожди калуса были родственниками друг другу и наследовали их положение. Люди верили, что их лидер был в ответе за обеспечение процветания земли и достатка воды.

Люди племени калуса работали ежедневно и наслаждались хорошим здоровьем и долгой жизнью. Работа не занимала весь день. Люди имели время для игр, песен, танцев и общественных церемоний.



Appendix No. 1.35. Panorama reconstruction of the scene of the fishing village of Calusa.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.  
Фото автора.





Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

**Пояснения под панорамой рыбацкой деревни.** Перевод автора.

Крючок и леска: крупная рыба слишком сильна, для того чтобы быть пойманной в сети и ловилась на крючок и леску.

Жаберные сети. Жаберные сети ловят рыбу определенного размера. Мелкая рыба проходит через сеть, а большая рыба оплывала вокруг нее. Рыба среднего размера проходила через сеть и ловилась за жабры.

Ловля акул. Волочащаяся за каноэ мертвая рыба или трясущаяся погремушка привлекала акул, которые могли затем быть пойманы на крепкий деревянный крюк или заарканены и затем оглушены.

Сбор моллюсков: по мере того как происходил отлив, устрицы и другие моллюски становятся легкой целью для того собрать их.





Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Пояснение к панораме . Перевод автора.***

Плетение пальмовых листьев: из пальмовых листьев делали прекрасные циновки и крыши.

***Производство каноэ:***

Калуса делали каноэ из сосновых деревьев. Они жгли середину и удаляли обугленное дерево используя инструменты из раковин.

Инструменты из раковин: Люди делали топоры, тесла и молотки из больших раковин моллюсков. они использовали другие раковины для грузил для сетей, починки сетей, перфораторов, грузил и составных крючков.

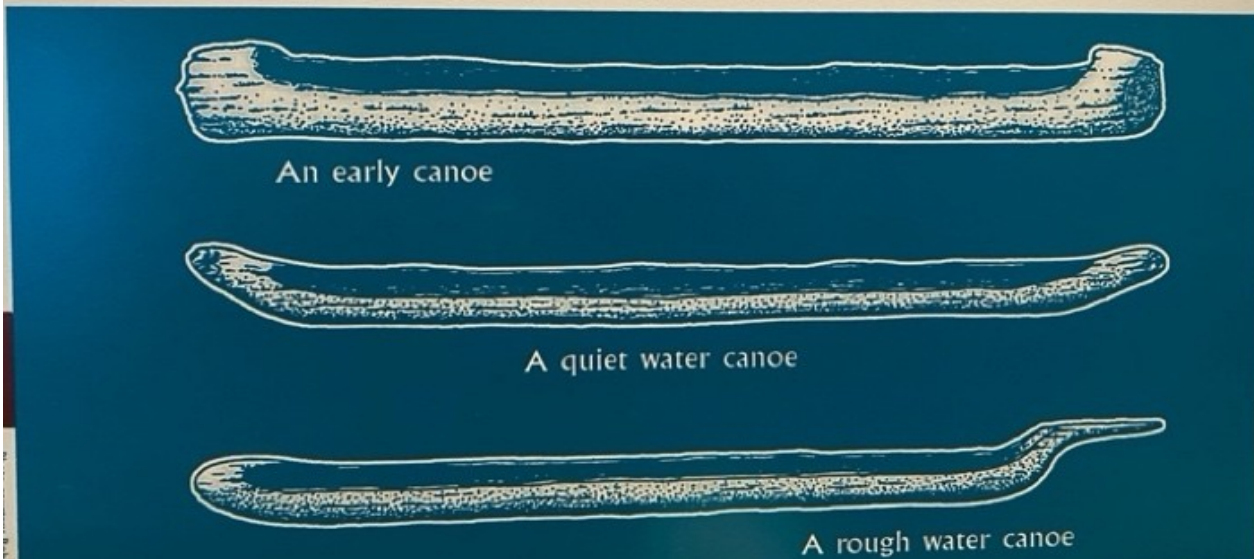
Баржа: два каноэ, связанных вместе с платформой между ними, перевозило товары и людей.

## Appendix No. 1.36. Canoes in the life of the aborigines of Florida.



## Building a Canoe

The Calusa made canoes out of a single log. To shape the boat, they burned the middle and chopped out the charred wood with robust shell tools. They used other shell tools to finish the surfaces.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Пояснение к рисункам на панораме «Всемогущее каноэ».***  
*Перевод автора.*

Каноэ были жизненно важными для жизни калуса. Они использовались каждый день для перемещения, торговли, рыбной ловли и военных действий.

Калуса вероятно делали цельные каноэ из сосен и кипарисовых деревьев. Каноэ для спокойной воды имели простую носовую часть, и таким образом были грубее морских, имевших выступающий нос. Для перевозки больших груз, они делали баржи с помощью укрепления платформы между двумя каноэ. Маленькие каноэ могли тянуться как шлюпки. И калуса даже сделали чаши в виде каноэ и игрушек.

Цитата из книги хрониста Мераса в 1567 г.: «В течение двух часов пришел вождь Карлос с двенадцатью каноэ и два из них были с палубами и были прикреплены друг к другу с навесами из обручей и циновками».

## Appendix No. 1.37. Fishing on the Gulf coast.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.  
Фото автора.

**Перевод стенда. Рыбный промысел на побережье Мексиканского залива.**

Люди жили во Флориде в богатой прибрежной зоне Мексиканского залива более 6000 лет.

Из всех коренных народов, проживающих вдоль залива, индейцы калуса (ka-LOO-sa) (Calusa) были самыми могущественными. К XVI веку многочисленная густонаселенная народность калуса контролировала южную Флориды. Они передвигались далеко на каноэ, прокладывали каналы, соединяющие прибрежные города с внутренними частями по водным путям и общинами.

Калуса были рыбаками. Они процветали благодаря огромным богатствам своего прибрежного мира. Хотя культура индейцев калуса исчезла, многие из их древних рыболовных традиций продолжают по сей день вдоль побережья Флоридского залива.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Перевод сцены «Королевский Прием».***

*«Касик (вождь – прим. К.А.) был в большой комнате один на приподнятом сиденье с большой демонстрацией власти и с индейской женщиной, также сидевшей немного в стороне от него.»*

***Гонсало Солис де Мерас 1567 г. (Gonzalo Solis de Meras).***

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<sup>567</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.



В этой сцене лидер Калузы Карлос и его ближайшие советники приветствуют приезжего лидера. Это 1564 год в столице калуса - Калоса, вероятно, на сегодняшнем Маунд Ки близ Форт-Майерса.

Appendix No. 1.39. Chief of the Tequesta tribe and Chief of the Calusa tribe<sup>568</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

**Перевод сцены.**

Приглашенный вождь племени текеста приехал из региона Текеста (сегодняшний Майами), чтобы привезти новости из далекого царства домена Калуса.

*«Традиционным способом индейцев племени текеста протягивает руки ладонями вверх в знак уважения. Карлос (вождь племени калуса – К.А.) коснется его руки, чтобы ответить на приветствие. Текеста,*

<sup>568</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.



*Приглашенный вождь текесты был близким родственником вождя Карлоса и доньи Антонии (сестры касика калуса – К.А.).»*  
**(Бартоломе Барриентос, 1567 г.).**

Appendix No. 1.40. The main wife of the chief of the Calusa  
-Carlos tribe<sup>569</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

**Перевод сцены.**

Главная жена вождя Карлоса. Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.

«У жены вождя (которой было 20 лет в 1566 году – К.А.)... были очень приятные черты лица, руки и глаза. Она была красавицей.»  
(**Бартоломе Барриентос, 1567 г.**)

<sup>569</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.

«Его главная жена... Ей было 20 лет, ... ее брови были хорошо обозначены, и она носила на шее очень красивый ошейник из жемчуга и камней и ожерелье из золотых бусин.» ***(Гонсало Сакк де Мердс, 1566 год).***



Appendix No. 1.41. Chief of the Calusa tribe <sup>570</sup>.

Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Дом Калуса. Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в***

<sup>570</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.

***Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Авторское фото специально для диссертации по разрешению администрации музея.***

***Перевод сцены.***

Вождь племени калуса. Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.

«Лидер Калузы Каалус, которым испанцы, неправильно произнося это слово, называли его Карлос... величайший из твоих касиков, которые есть на всем этом побережье Флориды.» ***(Хуан Рогель, 1567 год).***



Appendix No. 1.42. The house of the chief of the Calusa tribe. Stool <sup>571</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Перевод автора сцены приема вождем калуса вождя племени текесты.***

<sup>571</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.

*«Царь сел на специальный табурет и был встречен с почтением».*  
**(Гонсало Солис де Мерас. 1567 г.)**

Appendix No. 1.43. The house of the chief of the Calusa tribe. Chief Shaman <sup>572</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.  
Фото автора. Ракурс справа.

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<sup>572</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.





Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.

Фото автора. Ракурс слева.

Перевод сцены реставрации. *«Отец вождя Карлоса, Духовный Лидер был великим шаманом... верховный жрец идолов.» (Хуан Рогель, 1568 год).*

Appendix No. 1.44. The house of the chief of the Calusa tribe.  
The wife of Chief Callus<sup>573</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора. **Перевод сцены.** Перевод автора.  
«Антония, жена Карлоса [была] одной из сестер [касика]... которую, как говорят, он любит очень сильно.» (**Хуан Рогель 1567**).

<sup>573</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.



Appendix No. 1.45. The house of the chief of the Calusa tribe. Military Commander <sup>574</sup>.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

***Перевод сцены. Перевод автора.***

Военноначальник Филипе. «Во время правления Карлоса... Филипе сильно желал быть королем.» ***(Хуан Рогель, 1568 год).***

<sup>574</sup> Реставрация Дома индейцев племени калуса в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.

Appendix No. 1.46. The house of the chief of the Calusa tribe.  
The "Body Decoration" stand.



Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.  
Фото автора.

**Перевод к стенду (слева направо). Перевод автора.**

Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.  
Калуса украшали свои тела краской и, возможно, татуировками, а также носили множество видов бус и украшений.  
Вождь наносил на себя черный цвет на своем лице и на теле (Хуан Рогель, 1568 г.)

**Украшения.**

Раковина, 700 г. -1500 г. н. э. Ки Марко, округ (каунти) Кольер. Флорида.

Раковины, 50 г.- 250 г. н. э. Пайнлэнд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Позвонок рыбы-пиры, 1300 г. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Позвонок рыбы-пиры, 500-600 г. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Кость, 1200-1350 гг. н. э., Джослин, округ Ли, Флорида.

Кость птицы, 50-100 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Раковины, 500 г.- 1000 г. н. э., Пайнлэнд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Раковины, 200 г.- 400 г. н. э., Кэш Маунд, округ Шарлотта, Флорида.

**Бусы.**

Позвонок рыбы-пиры, 500 г. до н. э. - 1200 г. н. э., Онион Ки, округ Монро, Флорида.

Позвонок акулы, 1300-1450 гг. н. э., Пайнлэнд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Раковина, 500-650 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ (каунти) Кольер. Флорида.

Раковина, 50-150 гг. н. э., Пайнлэнд, округ (каунти) Ли. Флорида.

Кость, 200-1600 гг. н. э., Форт Центр, округ (каунти) Глэйдс, Флорида.

Кость, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ (каунти) Кольер, Флорида.

**Украшения.**

Полоска кольца, раковина, 50-150 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида

Украшение конька или луча, дерево, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ (каунти) Кольер. Флорида.

Полоска кольца, раковина, 50-200 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида

Ушное украшение или губная серьга, дерево, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер. Флорида.

Резной кулон, рога оленя 5000-2000 гг. до н. э., Репаблик Гравс, округ Харди, Флорида

Перфоратор или игла для татуировки из рогов оленя, 1270-1330 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли.

Раковина с пигментом, моллюск Ки Марку, Коллер С

Пигментная свинцовая руда 1200-1350 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли.

Пигментный доломит, 1270-1340 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида



## Продолжение описания стенда «Украшение тела»



Украшения на военном начальнике Филипе.

Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле.

Морская раковина, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

Раковина моллюска 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

Перфоратор или игла для татуировки, оленья кость, 1270-1330 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Пигмент галенит (свинцовая руда), 1200-1350 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

Раковина с пигментом, солнечный луч Венеры и пигмент, 700-1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.

Иголка, кость оленя, 5000-2000 гг. до н. э., Републик Гровс, округ Харди, Флорида.

Пигмент, красная охра, 500-1600 гг. н. э., Джон Квайт Маунд, округ Шарлот, Флорида.

### **Подвески (кулоны).**

Подвеска или погремушка из панциря черепахи 700-1800 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.

Кулон из зуба аллигатора, 500-1500 гг. н. э., Индиан Филд Сайт, округ Ли, Флорида.

Кулоны из зубов акул, 200-1800 гг. н. э., Форт Сентер, округ Глэйдс, Флорида.

Кулон головы птицы из известняка, 1400-1500 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Подвеска из зуба аллигатора, 200-500 гг. н. э., Пайнленд, округ Ли, Флорида.

Подвеска, кость, 1200-1400 гг. н. э., Плантайшн Ки, округ Монро, Флорида.

Булавка с вершушкой для колышка, кость аллигатора, 700–1500 гг. н. э.,  
Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

Булавка с изображением гремучей змеи, кость оленя, 700–1500 гг. , Ки  
Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида

Булавка, кость оленя, 700–1500 гг. , Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.

Appendix No. 1.47. Exposition "Vertical section of the "cultural layer" at the site of archaeological excavations at the habitat of the Calusa Indians»<sup>575</sup>.



<sup>575</sup> Фотография наглядной экспозиции в Музее Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. 2021 г. Фото автора.



**Перевод описания стенда «Вертикальный срез «культурного слоя» в месте проведения археологических раскопок на месте обитания индейцев калуса». Перевод Ашрафьяна К.Э.**

*Какие истории может рассказать нам эта свалка?*

*Отходы — это остатки того, что люди оставляют после себя.*

*На протяжении веков эти останки накапливались слоями, самые старые слои находились внизу, а самые свежие - наверху. Археологи читают истории прошлого в этих слоях. Это воссозданный вертикальный «срез» с места археологических раскопок индейцев калуса.*

**Слой сверху вниз:**

**Слой. Ранние американские поселенцы.**

Бутылочное стекло и другие артефакты показывают, что в недавнее время здесь жили американские поселенцы. Исторические документы сообщают нам, что они выращивали овощи, цитрусовые и крупный рогатый скот, а также продолжали древнюю практику рыболовства.

**Слой. Кубинский рыбный промысел.**

Фрагменты посуды, посуды и табачных трубок 250-летней давности, наряду с информацией из исторических документов, свидетельствуют о том, что кубинские рыбаки вели здесь коммерческий промысел.

**Слой. Индейцы и европейцы.**

Торговые предметы, такие как банки для оливок, стеклянные бусины, металлические ножницы и железные шипы датируются тем временем, когда калуса впервые столкнулась с европейскими исследователями и миссионерами.

**Слой. Дом индейцев калуса.**

Темная органическая почва и следы деревянных столбов, торчащих внизу, свидетельствуют о том, что калуса построили здесь дом. Кто-то терял или оставлял в доме кулон с птицей, и люди делали керамику с характерными «защемленными» ободками.

**Слой. Рост насыпи.**

Эти слои навоза свидетельствуют о событии строительства кургана. Керамика более старого стиля поверх более позднего мусора показывает, что калуса использовала навоз с более ранних времен, чтобы построить насыпь выше. Слой пепла от пожара сохранил много семян, которые рассказывают нам, какие растения и фрукты ели люди.

**Слой. Специальный дом.**

Этот темный слой - пол дома, а провалы ниже свидетельствуют о деревянных столбах. Этаж содержит экзотические материалы, такие как глина из Миссури (используется для окраски тела), что позволяет предположить, что люди, возможно, использовали дом для подготовки к ритуалам. После того, как дом был заброшен, на полу старого дома скопилось много рыбных костей и других артефактов.

**Слой. Внутренняя торговля.**

Этот слой навоза поднимал насыпь выше. Стили керамики, обычно встречающиеся во внутренней Флориде, предполагают более тесное общение с другими народами Флориды.

***Слой. Люди Возвращаются.***

Эти слои показывают, что люди вернулись в этот район после шторма, описанного ниже. Таким образом, уровень моря немного понизился, и местность высохла. Обилие костей перелетных уток говорит о более прохладном климате, потому что в теплую погоду утки не залетают так далеко на юг. Темный слой представляет собой пол дома и содержит наковальни из раковин моллюсков, костяные наконечники, используемые для рыбной ловли, грузила для сетей, каменные ножи и керамику под названием Belle Glade. Верхний слой содержит множество моллюсков и раковин, которые жили на равнинах морской травы и стали любимой пищей.

***Слой. Повышение уровня моря.***

Эти слои содержат останки морских животных, но никаких артефактов. Это говорит нам о том, что уровень моря поднялся, и люди уехали. Средний слой моллюсков прибой документирует ураган или сильный шторм, который выбросил этих животных на берег. Над прибоем виднеются раковины мидий, обитающих среди черных мангровых зарослей. Они показывают, что уровень моря начал понижаться, и черные мангровые заросли снова поселились во влажных песках.

***Слой. Первые жители.***

Поверх чистого песка - первое свидетельство того, что люди поселились вдоль берега - отказываются от своей пищи, включая моллюсков, кости рыбы, черепахи и оленя, а также разбитую глиняную посуду. Этот слой отходов находится ниже сегодняшнего среднего уровня моря, что сохраняло его влажным и, таким образом, сохраняло хрупкие снасти, древесную щепу и семена перца чили, кабачков и папайи.

Appendix No. 1.48. Photos of the artifact stand <sup>576</sup>.**Перевод описания коллекции артефактов.**

Раковина моллюска, 3000–2000 гг. до н. э., Хоррс Айленд, каунти Колльер, Флорида, США

Куски от деревообработки, кипарис, 50–200 гг. н. э., Пайнлэнд Сайт Комплекс, каунти, Ли, Флорида, США

Режущий выступ, раковина моллюска, 700–800 гг. н. э., Аппер Матекумбе Ки, каунти Моро, Флорида. **(номер коллекции 98554, Мо 17, 5-44).**

Заточный станок для режущего инструмента, 700–1500 гг. н. э., Ки Марко, округ Кольер, Флорида.

Пестик для ступки, раковина моллюска, 200 г. до н. э. – 400 г. н. э., Кэш Маунд, каунти Шарлотта, Флорида.

<sup>576</sup> Фотографии из Музея Естественной Истории Флориды в Гейнсвилле. Фото автора.

Appendix No. 2.1. Unadapted original texts for translation  
and translation of manuscript pages  
Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda<sup>577</sup>.

**Объем и содержание:** список всех касиков, которые были во Флориде, и двух из них, у которых был жемчуг.

**Примечание:** перечисление касиков (вождей) Флориды (около 1565 г.), которое, вероятно, такое же, как описано в Patronato, 19, R.5. Этот документ можно отнести к Эрнандо де Эскаланте Фонтанеда, чье описание островов в Багамском проливе и настоящее соединилось вместе с этим документом. См .: Patronato, 18, №5, R.1. См. также: «Сборник неопубликованных документов, касающихся открытия, завоевания и колонизации испанских владений в Америке и Океании, взятых из архивов Королевства, и особенно из Индии 1864-1884 гг.», 1, Т. 5, стр. 532-548

**Название документа:** Список всех вождей Флориды.

**Titulo nombre atribuido:** Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida

**Signatura:** PATRONATO,19, R.32

**Código de referencia:** ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,19,R.32

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121651?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121651?nm)

nm

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<sup>577</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento PATRONATO,19,R.32: Relación de todos los caciques de la Florida. [Fecha de creación] 1565, Sevilla. - URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121651?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121651?nm) nm (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



Florida Vulcan 511  
 colon descubrió las yslas yucay y sacchiti y parte de la florida. con otros dos de santo doming  
 In Jordan Soto Chilora  
 las islas lucayos son de tres suertes y es desta manera lo primero las yslas de bahama  
 lo segundo las yslas de los organos. lo tercero las yslas de los martires. que confirman  
 con unos caños de la ter tugae hacia poniente y otros caños. son de hazer na y como  
 son de hazer na. nose ben de los y por ende taca una se pierden muchos na brios En to  
 da aquella costa. de la canal de bahama y islas ter tugae y de los martires  
 la habana Esta ha sin elui / la florida Esta ha sin el porte y en la una tierra  
 de la habana y la de cuba / para tierra firme de la florida Estan estas  
 yslas de bahama y organos y islas de los martires y ter tugae. haze una  
 canal de hancho por mas estrecho se ynte leguas de la habana a los  
 martires y de los martires a la florida catorce leguas Entre yslas  
 hacia yna. para desir me por hacia oriente y por lo mas ancho dee te y pasa se  
 hacia poniente y quarenta leguas. y muchos bajos y canales hondos  
 pero no y pasa se para na brios ni bergantines y naves son menores / sino  
 y y pasa se para lanchas y no mas yee to y hacia oriente a nor dee  
 te y por poniente para venir de la habana y y de la florida a  
 y pasa se pero no para venir a España sino y de la canal principal  
 de bahama Entre los martires y la habana yslas yucayos y pun  
 ta de la cana beral y otras cosas se halla para mas a la par y para  
 se podria hazer por En medio de la florida por el rio hacho de to  
 co baga a el rio de san mateo de poniente a ori ente y no con na  
 brios. sino por tie rra y por mar sir biendo se los unos na brios a los  
 otros de una banda a la otra para venir a España  
 En memoria de clarare general mente de las cosas de la florida y de un flio que  
 dizen el flio jordan / que es ta alabanda dee nor te y tambien dizen mos de la par  
 te de poniente de donde maris se de de soto y la y pita n palinae y tambien  
 fran de re y nosa y otros fables que y de acion y de los fueson cautivos que se  
 pueo bialguno de los brios y n fantibrio / y tambien y re mos de clarando  
 lo tra jeo y comidao y beo tidos de los yndios de abachi y de mogoso y otros  
 lugares mas a bajo que son to co baga / osigue be de y car los va y con  
 so be y otros muchos q de clarare y n q no todos y ca da cosa por su  
 ca pitulo y pri mero de claro el capitulo de la yslas de las yslas lucayos y islas  
 de los martires los pue blos de yndios

PATRONATO, 19, R. 32

© Archivos Estatales, <http://pares.cultura.gob.es>

**Стр. 1.****Оригинальный текст****Примечание на полях**

In linie lue CHICORA florida  
 Colon descubrió las yslas y yucayo i de achiti y par te dela florida con  
 otros vs de santodomingo  
 las islas lucayos son de tres suertes y ts desta manera lo primero las  
 yslas de bahama  
 lo segundo las yslas de los organos lo tercero las yslas de los martyres  
 (martiree) que confirma  
 con unos caios (cabos) de las ter tuguas (tertugas) Eacia (hasia)  
 poniente y estos palos (cabos) son de hare na y como  
 son de harena no se ben de lejos y pares ta causa se pierden muchos  
 nabios En to-  
 da Aquella costa de la canal de bahama y islas ter tugas y de los  
 martires.  
 la habana esta hasia (hacia) El sur y la florida Esta hasia El norte y  
 entre la una tierra  
 de la habana ysla de cuba/para tierra firme de la florida Estan Estas  
 yslas de bahama y organos y islae delos martyres y ter tugae haze una  
 canal dehan echo por/lo/ mas estrecho beynte leguas Delahabana A  
 los  
 martires y De los martires A la/florida catorce leguas Entre yslas  
 La España para decir mejor hacia oriente/ y por lo mas Sancho  
 (Ancho) Des te pasaje  
 hacia poniente Ay (hay) quarenta leguas. Ay (hay) muchos bajos y  
 canales hondas  
 ?pero no Ay (hay)y pasaje para nabips ni bergantines Aunque son  
 menores/ sino  
 D Y pasa se (pasaje) para Canoas y no mas y esto es hacia oriente A  
 nordes  
 te/ pero por poniente para benir de la habana y yr A laflorida Ai (hay)  
 pasaje pero no para benir a españa si no es por la canal principal  
 De bahama Entre los mártires y la habana yslas yucayos y pun-  
 ta del cañaberal y otra cosa no se halla para mas Atajar/por Atajo  
 se podria hazer (hacer) por en medio de la florida/por El frio (rio)  
 hacho (ancho) de to-co бага Al toflío (Al rio) de san mateo de poniente A  
 oriente y no con na-  
 bios sino por tierra y por mar sirbiendose los unos nabios A los  
 otros De una banDa A la otra/ para benir A españa  
 otra memoria declarare/ general mente de las cosas de la florida y de  
 un Rio que  
 dizen el Rio Jordan/ ques ta a la banda del norte/ y tambien diremos de  
 la par-  
 te de poniente donde murio Ser\_do (Hernando) de soto y el capitan  
 Jalinás (Salinas) y tambien  
 fran Derre y nosa (Francisco De Reynoso) y otros frailes que  
 padecieron y de los ? fueron cautibos que des-  
 pues bi alguno dellos bibos y en cautiberio/ y tambien yremos  
 declarado

los trajes y comidas y bestidos de los yndios Deavalachi y de mogoso y  
 otros  
 lugares mas Abajo que son to cobvaga /osiguebede / y carlos y ays  
 con-  
 so be y otros muchos g (que) declarare Aunque no todos y cada cosa  
 por su  
 capitulo y primero declaro el capilo(capitolo) Arriba de las yslad  
 lucayos y yslas  
 De los martires los pueblos de yndios

Patronato, 19 , R. 32



[illegible]



**Стр. 2.****Оригинальный текст**

de abalachi q (que) Andan des nuDos los yndios y las yndias con  
 pan panillas de Elna (heno) nazida de los Arboles ques (que es) como  
 la-  
 na q (que) adelante declarare y comen benados y / zorros/ y ba-  
 cas lanudas y otos muchos animales y estos yndias cobran  
 ziertos tributos de oro bajo ques ta (que esta) mescha do (masclado)  
 En oro fino y much??  
 camusas (gamuzas) pintadas y en un Rio q este pueblo tiene tiene  
 las perlas q adelante tiene declaradas Adelante y son  
 flecheros pero llevandolos España y con una lengua Abi-  
 sada y dieztra se ganaria fazilmente y mejores yndios  
 de la florida q los de to co baga i carlos y ais y teges-  
 ta y otros tengo declarados Adelante liro sesor as-  
 ta el Rio Jordan q (que) dizen (dicen) como Adelante particular-  
 mente declaro Cada cosa ———  
 los yndios de abalachi son sajetos A los yndios de ola-  
 gale y mogoso y otros de Eazia (hacia) la tierra de la zierra (sierra)  
 Aite (de? Xite?)  
 q (que) son los mas ricos yndios y es tos lugares Son de mas balor  
 (valor)  
 Estube yo Dos Años Entre Ellos por oro bajo mes cla-  
 do en oro fino pero En toda la costa q Alelante decla-  
 ro En el memorial no ai (hay) oro bajo ni menos fino por q (porque)  
 loq(loque)  
 Ellos tienen? Es de los nabios q(que) se pierden de la nue-  
 ba Espana y del peru q les da tor menta datormenta El la canal ?  
 bahama y da con ellos cañaberal/ o en los martires/ q  
 se llama chiSijaga Cabo de los martires Eazia (hacia) las yslas  
 de las ter tu gas frontero A los martires y la Sabana (Habana) Ea-  
 zia (hacia) el sur y la propieDad de todo y suetanzia (suestacia) de  
 todo Adelante lo declaro Aun q (aunque) no todos los  
 lugares por tener diueesos (diversos) non bree q (que) no me Acuer-  
 do como/ y en esto zeso (ceso)  
 ca pi?ticlo De colon se nari pua es y sa de deso to/yet  
 jLL do ??n te de leon y otros ??z

enlatierra  
de Abalachi

en la tierra  
de Abalachi

memoria de los casiques de la folida<sup>2</sup>

El primer casique que estas cerca de Mexico es plaza  
y des pnes / Abalachi / des pnes omagatano / des pnes  
mogoso / des pnes tocobaga / des pnes canogacola  
des pnes / pebe / y des pnes / es que ga / y des pnes / osig  
bede / y des pnes / piyaya / y des pnes / tan pacaste

enlatierra  
de Carlos

des pnes / tan ya / y yagua / y estantayaca / y quex  
cha / y pnes tocobaga / y sinaya / y tomo / y cayuca  
y neguitun / y Abiz / y catespa / y nonogua  
y esquete / y toncobe / y chipi / y tguagemue  
y namuguya / y caragara / y ben ben queya  
y opacataga / y Janaz / y escuz / y metamapo  
y estame / y cacayada / y satucnaba / y Judhi  
y socol / y vbe / y teyo / y musya y casitua  
y cotebo / y coyobis / y teque mapo y putun  
y custevuiya / y estos son los que sujetan a los

enlatierra  
de los mar  
tiles

y en los martiles y tambien poblado de yndios  
y el primer casique es guarungube / des pnes ca  
raga / des pnes tatesta /

des pnes mas al delante esta tegesta / y tabuacio  
y Janaz / y cabista / y us tegiyo y zeaga y asi  
muchos yndios q no les se el nombre /

enlatierra  
de Carlos

Los primeramente / y buacata / y tunga / y may  
Judca y may coya / y mayaca / y silili / y potano  
y molo / y utina /



**Стр. 3.****Заметки на полях**

en la tierra de Abalac-hi

Memoria esto dos los casiquas de la folrida

El primeriasique ques tamas serca Demegito Es jolag

y despues/ Abalachi/despues onagatomo/ despues

mogoso/ despues tocobaga/ Despues cañogacola

Despues pebe/y Despues/es quega/y Despues/osig-

bede/ y Despues piyaya/y Despues/tanpacaste

заметки на полях

en la tierra

De carlos

Despues tanpa/y yagua/y es tanpaca/y queyla-

cher/y juestocobaga/y sinapa/ y tomo/ y cyuca

/y ñeguitun/y Abir/ y cutespa/ y çononoguay/

/y esquete/ y tonçobe/ y chipi/ y taguagemue/

y namuguya/ y caragara/ y benhenquepa/

y opacataga/ y janar/ y es curu/ y metamapo/

y estame/ y çacaspada/y satucuava/

/y soco/ y vuebe/y teyo/ y muspa y casitua/

y cotevo/ y coyovia/y tequemapoy/utun/

y custevuiya/ y estos son los quesujetan Aca-

los —||—||—

заметки на полях

en la tierra

De los mar-

tiles

y en los martiles Ay tambien pobla Do De ynDios

y elpri mercasique Es quarunqube/Despues cuc?-

yaga/ Despues tatesta/\_\_\_

Despues mas A delemte esta tegesta/ y tavuaçio/

y janar/ y cabista/ y custegiyo y zeaga y asi

muchos ynDios q noles seelnombre/-

заметки на полях

en la tierra - cer la de Sanet agustin

?eays

Ays primekamente/ y (v)buacata/ y tunsu/ y may-

juaca y maycoya/ y mayaca/ y çilili/ y potano

y moloa/ y utina -----

y ensanaqustin esta sotoriba/ y moloAelbravo/ y alimaca-

ny/ y palica y otros muchos ynDios pueblos quet no les

**se elnon bre?/ ———||——**

**otacaticuru/**y gualle/ y parca /——

y el casique questiene las perlas son Dos casiques Del

uno se llama Aquera / **y evbotco/ostaga/——**



Y en San Agustín Ztasototitla / y molo del bravo / y alimaca  
ny / y yalica y otros muchos yndios pueblos que no leg  
se dnon bre /  
y yacatitiku / y yuale / y yorica /  
y el casique que tiene las perlas son dos casiques y el  
uno se llama blquera / y el otro postaga

**Авторский перевод Ашрафьяна К.Э. текстов Эскаланте Фонтанеда.**

**Страница 1 и страница 2 с оригинального текста с сохранением оригинальных названий.**

**Имеющее отношение к предыдущему, на чистом листе, служащем прикрытием сверху, найдено следующее:**

Колумб открыл острова Юкайо (Yucayo) и Ачити (Achiti), а также часть Флориды вместе с другими соседями Санто-Доминго.

Острова Лукайо (Lucayo) бывают трех видов, и это: первый – острова Багама (Bahama), второй – острова Органос (Órganos), третий – острова Лос-Мартирес (Los Mártires), граничащие с некоторыми островами мыса Черепях (Las Tortugas) по направлению к западу (Poniente). Эти мысы песчаные, и их нельзя увидеть издалека, и по этой причине многие корабли теряются (тонут – К.А.) вдоль всего побережья Багамского Канала (la canal de Bahama) и островов Тортугас и Лос-Мартирес.

Гавана (La Habana) находится на юге; Флорида (la Florida) находится на севере; и между землей Гавана и островом Куба, к Тьерра-Фирме (Tierra Firme), находятся вот эти острова Багамы и Органы, острова Мучеников и Черепях; они образуют канал шириной двадцать лиг в самом узком месте от Гаваны до Лос-Мартирес и от Мартирес до Флориды, четырнадцать лиг между островами в направлении Испании, точнее говоря, на восток (Oriente), и через самый широкий проход на запад идет еще сорок лиг. Здесь много отмелей и глубоких каналов, но нет прохода для кораблей или бригов, даже если они меньше, но есть проход для каноэ, и не более того, и это на восток; но через запад, чтобы приехать в Гавану и отправиться во Флориду, есть проход, но не для того, чтобы попасть в Испанию, если только не через главный Багамский Канал между Лос-Мартиресом и Гаваной, островами Юкайос и мыса Каньяверал (punta del Cañaveral), и по-другому это невозможно. Кратчайшим путем это можно было бы сделать через середину Флориды, через широкую реку от Токовага (Tocovaga) до реки Сан-Матео (San Mateo), с запада на восток, и не на кораблях, а по суше и по воде, причем некоторые корабли обслуживали бы другие из одной группы (в одной цепочке – К.А.), чтобы по-другому добраться в Испанию.

Еще одно воспоминание; я расскажу о вещах во Флориде и о реке, которая впадает в реку Иордан (Jordán), которая находится на северной стороне; а также мы скажем о той части Запада, где умерли Эрнандо де Сото (Hernando de Soto) и капитан Салинас (capitán Salinas), а также о Франсиско де Рейноса (Francisco de Reinos) и других пострадавших братьях-монахах и о тех, кто был в плену, некоторых из которых я позже видел живыми; и также покажем вещи, еду и одежду индейцев аппалачи (Abalachi) и могосо (Mogoso) и других мест (племен?) ниже, таких как токовага (Tocobaga), осигеведе (Osiguevede), карлос (Carlos), айс (Ais), лонсобе (Lonsobe) и многих других, которых я объявляю, хотя и не всех, и все для этой главы, и сначала я расскажу об островах Лукайос и Лос-Мартирес.

Об аппалачи, индейцах, которые ходят обнаженными, и об индийских женщинах с повязками из сена, изготовленного из деревьев, которые подобны шерсти, я расскажу позже; и едят они оленей, лисиц, шерстистых коров и многих других животных; и эти индейцы собирают дань из низкокачественного золота, смешанного с чистым, и множество раскрашенных шкур; и в реке, что есть в этом поселении, есть жемчуг, который они добывают, и они – лучники, но, напав на них испанцы, с хорошо осведомленным и искусным переводчиком, могли бы легко победить, и нет лучше индейцев во Флориде, чем индейцы токобага, карлоса, айса, тегесты и другие, которых я объявлю далее, вплоть до реки Иордан, о чем упомяну далее и расскажу о каждой вещи.

Индейцы аппалачи подчиняются индейцам олагале и могосо, а также другим индейцам из земель Сьерра-де-Ксите (de la sierra de Xite), которые являются самыми богатыми индейцами, а эти места считаются наиболее ценными. Я провел среди них два года в поисках низкопробного и чистого золота, но на всем побережье, о чем я позже упомяну в воспоминаниях, нет ни низкопробного, ни более-менее чистого золота, потому что все, что у них есть, – это корабли, которые потерялись (потерпели крушения – К.А.), плывя из Новой Испании (La Nueva España) и Перу (Pirú), попали у них в шторм в проливе Багама, и были найдены в Каньяверале (Cañaveral) или на мысе Лос-Мартирес (cabo de Los Mártires), который называется Чичиджая (Chichijaya), в направлении островов Тортугас, граничащих с Лос-Мартиресом и Гаваной на юге; и право собственности на все и сущность всего, что впереди, я заявляю, хотя и не во всех местах, потому что они имеют разные названия, которые я не помню, и на этом я прекращаю.

**Авторский перевод страницы 3 и страницы 4 оригинального текста с точным переводом перечисления касиков и от других сохранившихся переводов в другой научной литературе.**

#### **Земля Аппалачи.**

Olag [Olagale] (Олагале), Abalachi (Абалачи, т. е. Аппалачи), Onogotomo [Onagatano] (Онагатано), Mogoso [Mocoso] о (Могосо или Мокосо), Tocabaga [Tocovaga] (Токобага или Токовага), Cañogacola о [Cañagacola] (Каньгокола о Каньягакола), Pebe (Пебе), Quega [Esquega] (Эскега), Osigbede [Osiguebede] (Осигбеде о Осигебеде), Piyaia (Пиййяя), Tanpacaste (Танпакасте).

#### **Земля Карлоса.**

Tanpa (Танпа), Yagua (Ягва), Tantapaca [Estantapaca] (Эстантапака), Queycher [Queyhcha] (Кейча), Juestocabaga (Хуэстокобага), Sinapa (Синапа), Tomo (Томо), Cayuca (Кайюка), Ñeguitun (Ньегитун), Avir (Авир), Cutespa (Кутеспа), Çononoguay [Çononogua] (Çононогва), Quete [Esquete] (Эскете), Tonçobe [Tonsobe] (Тонсьобе), Chipi (Чипи), Taguagemue (Тагвахемуэ), Namuguya (Намугуйя), Caragara (Карагара), [Henhenquera] (Эненкепа), Opacataga (Опакатага), Janar (Ханар), Curu [Escuru] (Эскуру), Metamaro

(Метамapo), Estame (Эстaмe), Çacaspada (Çакaспaдa), Satucuava (Cатyкyавa), Juchi (Хyчy), Soco (Cокo), Vuebe (Byэбe), Teyo (Teйo), Muspa (Myспa), Casitua [Casitoa] (Кacитyа или Кacитoа), Cotevo (Кoтeвo), Coyovia [Coyobea] (Кoйoбeа), Tequemapo (Teкeмaпo), Jutan o Jutun (Хyтaн или Хyтyн), Custevuiya [Custevia o Custebiya] (Кyстeвyиa или Кyстeвиa или Кyстeбийя).

Зeмля Лoс Мapтилeс [Лoс Мapтиpec]:

Guarungunbe [Guarungube] (Гвapунгyбe или Гвapунгyнбe), Cuchyaga [Cuchiyaga] (Кyчиягao или Кyчийягa), Tatesta (Tатeстa), Tegesta [Tequesta] (Teкeстa или Teхeстa), Tavuaçio [Tavuasias] (Tавyаçиo или Tавyасия), Janar (Хaнap), Cavista (Кавистa), Custegiyo (Кyстexийo), Jeaga (Хeагa) и Asi (Аcи).

### ***Зeмля Айc:***

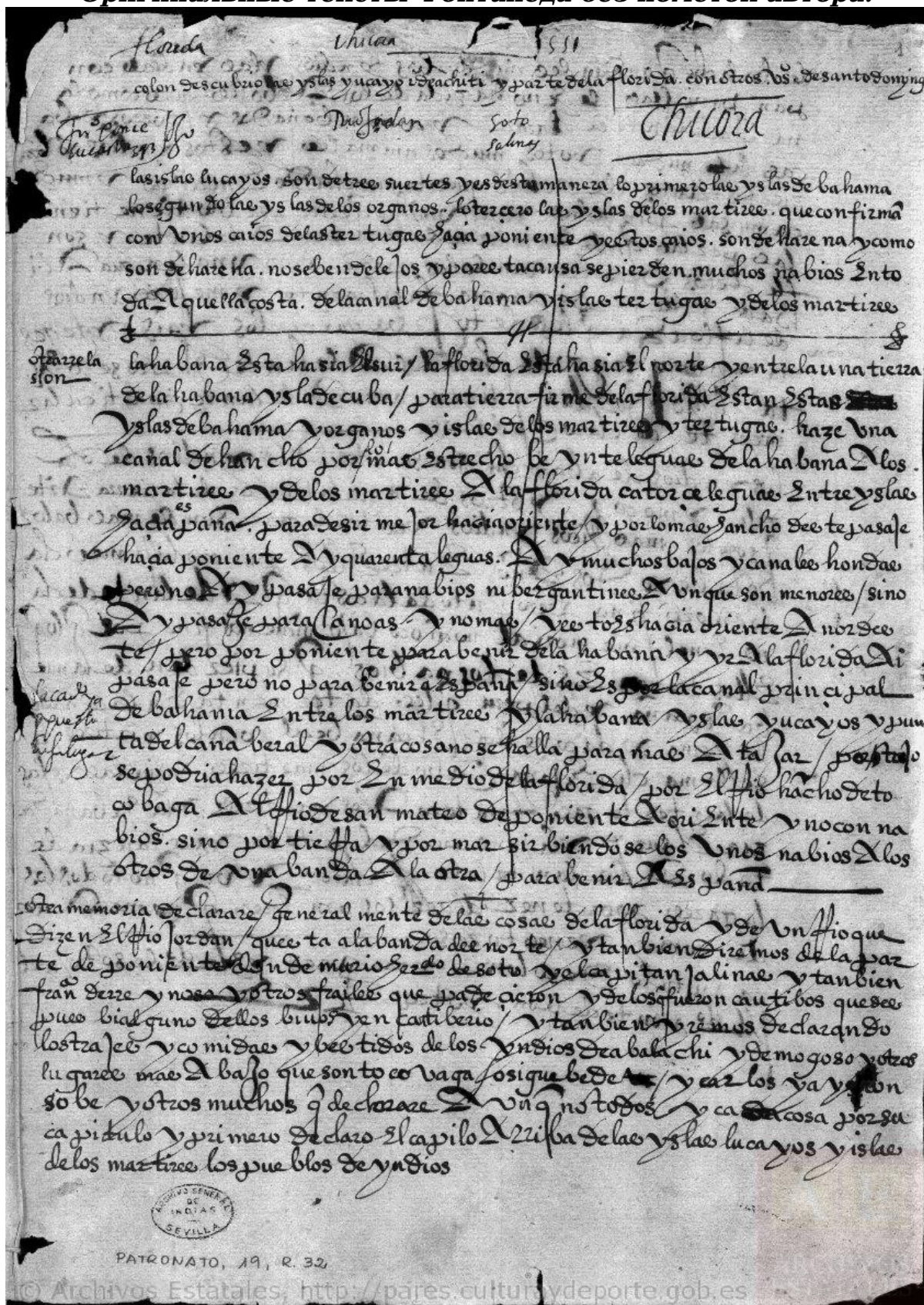
Ays (Айc), Vuacata [Guacata] (Byакaтa или Гвaкaтa), Tunsa (Tyнсa), Mayjuasa [Mayajuasa] (Mайхyакa или Mайяxуакa), Maysoya (Mайкoйя), Mayasa (Mайякa), Çilili (Çилили), Potano (Пoтaнo), Moloa (Mолоa), Utina (Утинa).

### ***Зeмля oкoлo Сaнт-Авгyстинa***

Sotoriba [Sotoriva o Satoriwa] (Cотopибa или Cотopивa), Moloaelbravo (Mолоa эль бpавo), Alimacany [Alimacani] (Алимaкaни), Palica (Пaликa), Tacatucuru (Tакaтyкyрy), Guale (Гвaлe), Parca [Paica] (Пapкa o Пaйкa).



Оригинальные тексты Фонтанеда без пометок автора.









enlatierna  
de Abala  
chi

Memoria de los casiques de la folida<sup>2</sup>

El primer casique que estamas cerca de Mexico es plag  
y des pues / Abalachi / Des pues sonagatano / Des pues  
/ mogoso / Des pues tocobaga / Des pues canogacola  
Des pues / pebe / y Des pues / es quega / y Des pues / osig  
bede / y Des pues / piyaya / y Des pues / tampacaste

enlatierna  
de Carlos

Des pues / tamya / y yagua / y estantayaca / y quey  
cha / y nes tocobaga / y sinaya / y tomo / y ayuca  
/ y neguitun / y Abiz / y catespa / y cononogua  
/ y esquete / y toncobe / y chiya / y tigua gemue  
y namuguya / y caragara / y ben ben queya  
y opacataga / y Janaz / y escuru / y metamapo  
y estamo / y cacasyaga / y satucnaba / y Judhi  
/ y socol / y vbebe / y teyo / y musya y casitua  
y cotebo / y coyobis / y teque mayo y lutun  
y ustevuiya / y estos son los que sujetan a los

enlatierna  
de los mar  
tiles

y en los martiles y tambien poblado de yndios  
y el primer casique es guazungube / Des pues cu  
yaga / Des pues tatesta /

Des pues mas al delante esta tegesta / y tabuacio /  
y Janaz / y cabista / y us tegiyo y Beaga y asi  
muchos yndios q no les se el nombre /

enlatierna  
de Carlos

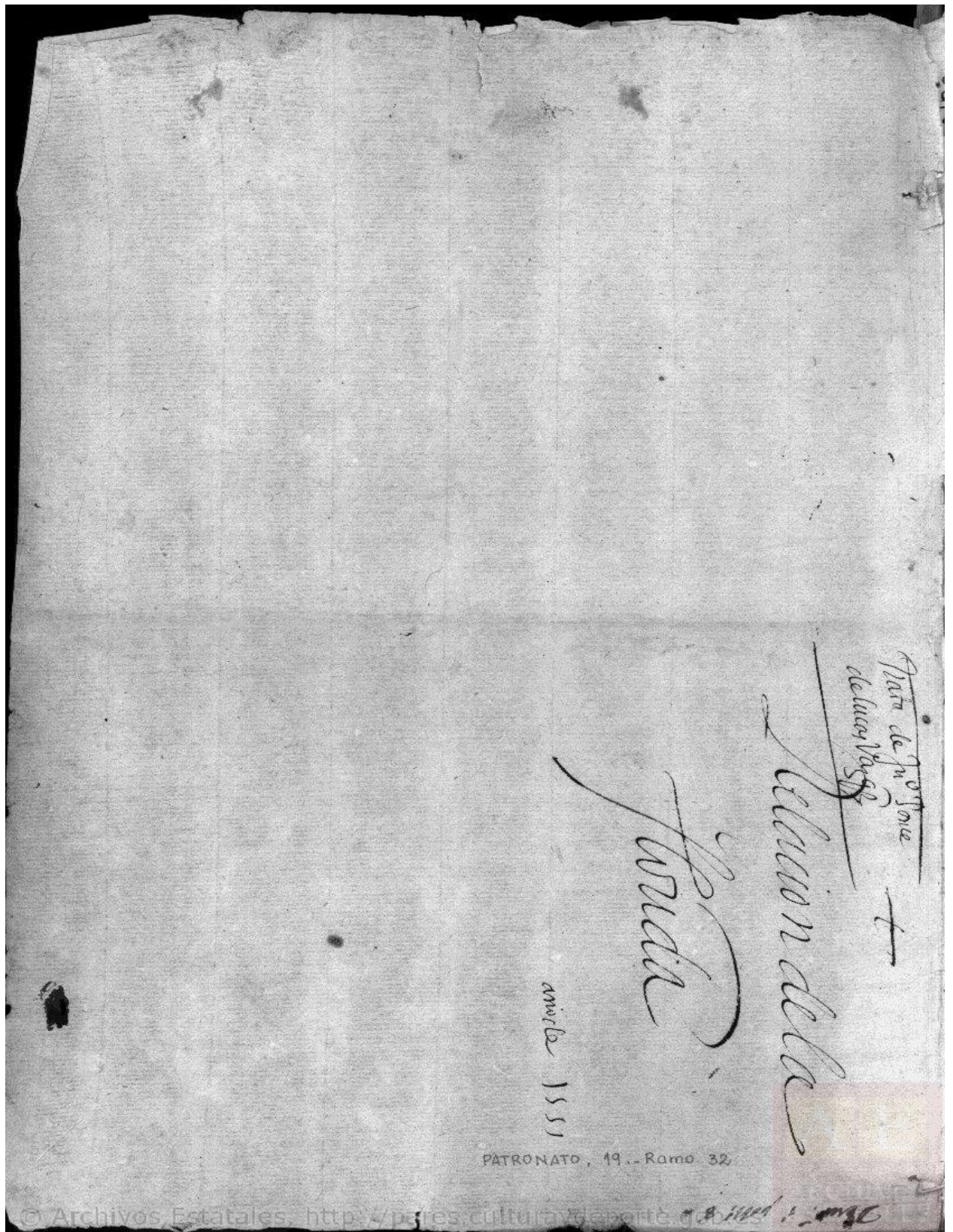
Los primeramente / y buacata / y tunga / y may  
Judca y may coya / y mayaca / y silili / y potano  
y molo / y utina /





y en san agustin Estas otoria / y molo del bravo / y alimaca  
ny / y palica y otros muchos yndios pueblos que no leg  
sed por bre /  
y tacatikuzu / y guale / y parica /  
y el carbique que tien en la guerra son dos casiques y el  
vno se llama Alquera / y el otro postaga





Appendix No. 2.2. Appointment of Juan Ponce de Leon as Governor of the Islands of Florida and Bimini. 1514 .<sup>578</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевское объявление Короля дона Фернандо (Фердинанд II Арагонский) о назначении Хуана Понсе де Леона adelantado островов Флорида и Бимини, подписанное в г. Вальядолид (Valladolid).

Документ подписан 27 сентября 1514 г. в г. Вальядолид.

***Título:*** Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. Archivo General de Indias

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419,L.5, F.252V-253V [Signaturas anteriores]

***Fecha creación:*** 1514-09-27, Valladolid

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,L.5, F.252V-253V

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Provisión del Rey Don Fernando, nombrando adelantado de las Islas Florida y Bimini, a Juan Ponce de León.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?nm)

nm

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<sup>578</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5,F.252V-253V:  
 Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de  
 septiembre 1514, Valladolid. –  
 URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?nm)  
 nm (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).















Appendix No. 2.3. Notification of the Administration of the West Indies on the royal order "On the appointment of Juan Ponce de Leon". 1514 .<sup>579</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Уведомление об отправке королевского положения, подписанное королевой Хуаной, об объявлении Хуана Понсе де Леона аделантадо островов Флорида и Бимини, подписанное в г. Вальядолиде (Valladolid) 27 сентября 1514 г.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419, L.5,F.254R [***Signaturas anteriores***]

***Fecha creación:*** 1514-09-27, Valladolid

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419, L.5, F.254R

***Alcance y contenido:*** Nota de haberse despachado una Real Provisión firmada de la Reina D<sup>a</sup> Juana, nombrando Adelantado de las Islas Florida y Bimini, a Juan Ponce de León.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246770?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246770?nm)

nm

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<sup>579</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.254R  
 Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León  
 [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid. -  
 URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246770?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246770?nm)  
 nm  
 (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).





los navíos y gente, dándose toda la prisa que puedan en el despacho del dicho Juan Ponce, y la armada, de la que éste va por capitán.

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246744?>

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di erby de Sete  
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v. ce. d. d. m. d. e. t. d. de m. p. m. o. /

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P. q. car. i. b. s.

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y. p. l. a. t. i. n. o. d. e. b. i. m. y. y. d. o. s. m. a. d. o.  
l. u. g. o. s. f. i. a. h. o. n. d. i. e. r. d. o. l. e. v. m. e. y. s. l. o. n. d. o.  
s. o. q. u. e. y. p. l. a. t. i. n. o. d. e. l. o. r. l. o. n. e. l. o. m. o. l. o. n.  
l. o. s. c. a. r. i. b. e. s. q. u. e. n. a. s. q. u. e. n. e. d. i. n. d. p. n. e. s. t. d.  
l. o. n. a. d. i. o. s. l. o. g. e. n. y. m. a. t. e. m. y. n. e. n. d. e.



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 pno & y laticado y to mado el me for  
 p m. a visat me hays deo y dar lo  
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 d. Get d. d. n. p. ar y o c d h por m  
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lo qd os loh n pon a d leo mo Capita de dha Armada q m m d a m o s  
 h u z r d g a l o s c a m b e a d e y s d h a z r e s l o d h

r p m a m e n a d e y s d y r d l a d h a s d G e n l l a  
 y p l a t i c a r S o b r e e s e o a n t h a y l o s m o s  
 o f a a l o d l a c a s a d h l o n g a t a c o n d h o  
 y n d i a s q a f e s i d. d h a l a b d a d q n a d i o s  
 y G e n l b a s t a r a g a l a d h a a r m a d a y o y  
 l e e d a r e y s d d l c a v d a l a g e n l G e t o  
 m a r a e n l a e s p a n o l a y t o m a r e y d h d. d  
 m u r a o n q a g e e o m e j o r p a z e a e r e q  
 a i r a d d h a d h a r m a d a d e h a g a a l o  
 m e n o s o f t a q o m p n e d a p d d h a d h a c a s i  
 A g u r a e s t a g a s t a d a y o y G e n l. n o m a y  
 p r o n a e r v e n l o q d h G e n l a r d a r e d a d  
 h o d a l a p r i e s a q p n d i e r d e y a q p o r

Appendix No. 2.5. License issued to Juan Ponce de Leon.  
onethousandfivehundredfourteen<sup>581</sup>

**Перевод описания документа.**

Королевская грамота дана Хуану Понсе де Леону, аделантадо островов Флориды и Бимини, и капитану армады, которому дан мандат противостоять караибам, предоставляющая ему лицензию на вывоз с Эспаньолы, Сан-Хуана или Кубы до 10 индейцев для помощи в войне с караибами, и разрешающая захватить 12 карибских индейцев, 12 – из Флориды, а 5 или 4 – с других островов.

Подписано 27 сентября 1514 г. в г. Вальядолид.

**Titulo nombre atribuido:** Licencia a Juan Ponce de León

**Signatura:** INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.245R-245V [Signaturas anteriores]

Fecha creación: 1514-09-27, Valladolid

**Código de referencia:**  
ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,L.5,F.245R-245V

Situación en el cuadro de clasificación del archivo

**Alcance y contenido:**

Real Cédula a Juan Ponce de León, adelantado de las Islas, Florida y Bimini, y capitán de la armada que se ha mandado hacer contra los caribes, dándole licencia para llevar de la Isla Española, San Juan ó Cuba, hasta 10 indios para que le ayuden en la guerra de los caribes, y que envíen a S.M.

<sup>581</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.245R-245V : Licencia a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid.  
– URL<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246754?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



12 indios caribes, 12 de la Florida, y 5 ó 4 de las otras islas que se descubrieren

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246754?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246754?nm)  
nm

de la casa e fa en el dya q dho dho  
 las espaulas e arba e San l e mba  
 e q nate de aere podnysee dar h a  
 en m r d a d e a n u y n d i o s y a l o d o  
 care ala d h a g r r a e Si d i e r d e q d y  
 m u n d a h o n s i n t p o d a d e e e d a r h a f e  
 d i e z p e e e e e m u n d e e d i o y e s m u n d e  
 a l o r n i z i b e s e f a r a y d a r h m o s p o d n y  
 e b i t d o z e d e e e e e d o s y n d i o s d h a y l a  
 f l o r i d a e p o s d o z e e l l a d a v u l t o r a  
 e p o s f i e q m e d a m e t e e f a b r i c a r e  
 t e f e l q u i n g o y n d i o s y a d e n y d e d i a  
 n o t y n f o r m e m o s a e e e d h a c o s a d  
 e n l e n g u a d i c u r o e n y e p o r e f t a d o  
 m e m d i d o n d i e t o l o n c u r o d e m y z a m e s o  
 f e r e e d i m o d o y l a s p u n t a e d h a  
 e p o s y l a s q p o r e d e m y m u n d a d i e  
 e p o r m y n d i o s q u a f u n d e s m b i e r a d  
 e l o s c u r o n e z e e d f a n t e d h o d h o y  
 l a q e t e s m y p e r d e e e e l a r g o m a g n  
 a g u n t e v o t n o p o q u a m y e n b i e t a n  
 p o n e r f e a t a d e b u e n d a p e y d  
 e e d d e m y a b y o e e f e r f f e d a d a  
 y m a l d e d e o o p o f



e d h o i o h n p o r  
 a e d l n y e f a n d



d u n d e a l o n c u r o n e m y m u n d o f e r e e  
 d h a y l a s p u n t a e d h a e p o s y l a s p o r e d  
 a e m y r a n t v i s o p a d i e p o r m y n d i o s q u  
 f u n d e f a b r i c a r e e m o s e f a e d h a y l a





Appendix No. 2.6. Agreement between King Ferdinand II of  
Aragon and Juan Ponce de Leon.  
onethousandfivehundredfourteen<sup>582</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевская грамота о капитуляции, заключенная с  
Хуаном Понсе де Леоном, чтобы заселить остров Бимини и  
Флориду.

Подписано 27 сентября 1514 г. в г. Вальядолид.

***Título nombre atribuido:***

Capitulación con Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419, L.5,F.293R-295R [Signaturas  
anteriores]

***Fecha creación:*** 1514-09-27, Valladolid

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,  
L.5,F.293R-295R

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Cédula de la capitulación hecha con Juan Ponce de León para  
poblar la Isla de Biminí y de Florida.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246810?  
nml](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246810?nml)

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<sup>582</sup> Библиографическ

ое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419, L.5,F.293R-295R: Capitulación  
con Juan Ponce de León

. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid. –  
URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246810?  
nm](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246810?nm) (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



108 n p<sup>o</sup> r  
la Capitulo (un)

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de lo p a y d. poblar alayla d. b. m. y cl. y la f. f. y d.  
o vosioh n po n por nro mandado de mas d. lo Cap  
en un y Seto mo quando los f. y d. d. lo p. n. y d.  
ce y d.

primamente por que en la d. Capitulo  
la d. en el d. en un y Seto mo por nro  
mandado Seto mo sobre el d. o  
brir y poblar d. lo d. h. a. y p. lo d. o n  
d. y f. f. a. n. l. a. d. y a. p. o. f. e. p. o. e. d. m. y  
d. f. e. p. d. n. o. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
o vosioh n po n Seto mo quando los f. y d. d. lo p. n. y d.  
en un y Seto mo por nro mandado de mas d. lo Cap  
m. y d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
m. y d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
d. f. a. b. r. i. c. a. d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
h. a. f. i. n. d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
o n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
q. e. f. a. n. d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.  
d. e. f. a. n. d. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a. y d. m. o. n. o. m. d. e. d. e. p. a.













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 e q r los no q r los q r q r Sadre

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 r a r b e s e l o r t u r a d o l o c a n y e c y n d o r  
 v f f o l o c d p a z a d d a y o r e l o c h a r o  
 l o c n a d o s e e n t o l a d h a d r m a d a  
 a d i a l h o f f o p l a c d b i m y n e p l a  
 f l o r d a q u d o m d y r t h a m i d a d e f r a  
 p f o n c h a z r o d r e e d o l o c m e p o r p o  
 h e r e e l o n d u e n a d n o f u j

25  
 r y t e n g o a s e g u r i d a d q u o c e p t o f u d  
 p o n a t o l a p e r s o n a s q u o c e p t o  
 f u e r e n h a f e y s e l m p l i c e y e p a  
 f u n y l e d e q u d a d o y p l a n d o l o f f o  
 p u n l a n o n d e m d o q u d o c p t e  
 n e q u d a r e l u n p l a z d i n t o c h a  
 q u o b e e d f d i a d e y f u d n o l u n t o e  
 a l o n a d o s d c o n t e n t m d o s q u o c e p t o  
 q u d i d u e l a y p l a d e n m o g m

12  
 p r e n t l m p h e d v o c e p t o r o h a n g o a v a l l o f f a s e l a d a v f a e p r  
 d e s e d a d a c h o d h a f u d e n t e e d d u n d o y p d m d o l a s f a p a  
 d u f o d h a n o v o s p m e t o r e e n r o p d l a d o m d l m m d l f e d l o f u n p h e  
 v d l f e f f o a p o t n l a n o e n m d o c a d a v o c e p t o d e o e m d l o s n p o  
 o f m d e s q u d f e l u n t h y f a d o m p i q u o m o b e c o n f o r m e d  
 l o c a p o d e p t o m e n t u n o s e d f d d i e t o r a p e t t u l a n o  
 y f f o r p m l a d h a n o f u n t o e y p a d i o d e p u l p o m m d o d d o d i a l o  
 m o a e m p r b i s f e r e t z d l a y f a e s p a t u o l e e d l a s n p o  
 n e z e d a p e l a n o e l e d f e f u d e n e a l o s n o s e f a n b o  
 f f o r t o l a p a z p a d o q u d a n o l a s p a r d d i a d o f f o y f l a c o v o





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 eften d bne q m bdo e d y adonde de ffer  
 Imelos d s y Geny e aee ffer d e e noy  
 Imfmo y alio q nca d llyr da d los libros  
 y op m r as d m a h a q u e da d Venmor  
 d a z d a d o q e n a d a d m a d l s d h n s ab d a  
 d s G e l y a e a p u f r a l e z a y p t q d d m  
 m o d e p e d r a e d d e e n l y a z e z l a s d f o  
 f r a l e z a s y d o y y m f o r m u d o q e y e n  
 f t o n e q u e d e e n s G e l y z e e s f f o r t i s  
 e d m o r q u o l m p o n a c t l e d h r t z p  
 e l a a b o d e p o f f a e f t e a b r e f f  
 m b d o e d d y a e l l e d t m r o d r m a b f e  
 t u o s d p r e v o z p a q d m o d e f f o r f i d a s  
 S e p u e d m f f e r t o z e l l o c o n d t z  
 n o s d l o d h s y f l a d S a n r o h u p o r e n d  
 y o f m u n d o f l e y s y e f t e t n e y o  
 a e l h o p o p o n a d e l e o n q u a q o t i r o s d  
 p o r v o z m e d i m o s d f e n c l e r y m e  
 d i o m p n a l d p r e v o z y o u f b z m a d  
 d p e l o t e d h r r o e d p u e d r a e d l o  
 e m e o z e s p f o n e r e y b u d e z g u n  
 d b a c e f t a b a m e t a f r e e d l b z m a s  
 d e v i c t o s d e l p l o y a e e n s e m q n a

Appendix No. 2.7. The agreement concluded by King  
Ferdinand II of Aragon with Juan Ponce de Leon.  
onethousandfivehundredfourteen<sup>583</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевская грамота о положении, заключенном с  
Хуаном Понсе де Леоном для заселения острова Бринини  
(Brinini или Biminí – К.А.) и острова Флорида.

Подписано 27 сентября 1514 г. в г. Вальядолид.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Asiento con Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.15V-16V [Signaturas anteriores]

***Fecha creación:*** 1514-09-27, Valladolid

|  |                  |                           |
|--|------------------|---------------------------|
| <b><i>Código</i></b>                           | <b><i>de</i></b> | <b><i>referencia:</i></b> |
| ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.15V-16V |                  |                           |

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Cédula del asiento y capitulación tomado  
con Juan Ponce de León para poblar la isla de Brinini [sic por Biminí]) y la  
isla Florida.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/244377?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/244377?nm)

nm

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<sup>583</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 415,L.1,F.15V-16V: Asiento  
con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514,  
Valladolid.

URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/244377?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/244377?nm)  
nm

(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



De la dicha ysla española. Los Nros Jueces de apela-  
cion e alq. oficiales de nra. hacienda que se si den en ella  
ya cada o las justicias de la dicha ysla española que vos den  
todo el favor e ayuda que oviere menester. Sin que en ello ni  
en cosa alguna se ponga ni ponga. Se vos ponga ni ponga ni  
ponga ni ponga ni ponga. A xxij de febrero de 1514  
Yo el Rey por mandado de su alcaide lo p. con. e. llos. Sena  
lada del obispo de palencia //

Concluido Joanponce Sobre  
ladha ysla. Bimpy

II. El Asiento. Se tomo por nro. mandado con Vos Joanponce de llaon. Para poblar ala  
ysla de b. n. m. El ysla Florida que vos descubistes por nro. mandado de mas. De la  
capitula. con y a. Siento que con Vos. Se tomo quando las fuistes. A. descubir es el siguiente.

III. Primeramente Por quanto En la dicha capitula. con. Casien  
to que con Vos por nro. mandado se tomo. Sobre el descubir y poblar  
de la dicha ysla. Vos d. l. n. n. y facultad para que por tienpo  
termino de tres años que comencasen desde el dia que vos fuere  
Entregada la dicha capitula. con. pudiese desllevar. A. la costa  
y mansion los navios que qui. d. se des. contanto que fuesdes  
obligado a descubrir dentro del primero año y por que salta  
Agora os abeis ocupado en cosas de nuestro servicio y no abeiste  
nido tienpo para entender en ello es mi mrd. y Voluntad que los  
dichos tres años comiencen a correr y se cuenten des de el dia q  
enbarcades para yr. A las dichas yslas.

IV. Y ten que luego que fuerdes o enbiades A las dichas yslas. Haga  
que querir. A los ca. aques. y ndios dellas. por la mejor man. o manas  
que se les pueda dar. a. entender lo que se les dixere. conforme a  
un requerimiento que sta. / ordenado por muchos señados. El qual  
se vos dara. firmado del m. y. R. d. y nro. p. d. e. obispo de burgos  
Arcebispo de toledo nro. capellan mayor y de nuestro con  
sejo y de los señados nros. secretario y del m. consejo y proci  
vadores por todas las vias y manas que pudierdes. e queben  
pan en conocimiento de nra. Santa fe. catolica y en obedecer  
describir como son obligados. y tomareis por escupio por ante  
dos / o tres escriuanos. si los oviere y ancelos mas testigos.  
y mas Abonados que salta. se halla. un para que Aquello sirva  
para nra. Justificacon y enbiar. me. is. la. o. dichas. scripturas.



Requirimientos que asi se hicieron y e los dichos Requirimientos se ande hacer Vn y dos y tres veces.

¶ Si despues de lo suso dicho qui sieren obedeser lo contenido el dicho Requirimiento ental caso les podeis fazer guerra y prenderlos y traerlos por esclauos pero si obedeser en hazed les el buen tratamiento que fuere posible y trauasado como dhos. se conbiertan a nuestra sancta fee catolica y si por ventura despues de auer obedesado Vnavez el dicho Requirimiento ellos se tornasen a rebelar ental caso mando que les torneis a fazer el dicho Requirimiento antes de les fazer guerra ni mal ni dano.

¶ Otrosi que ningun Mercader ni otra persona alguna no pueda llevar para y ni embiar alas dhas yslas por esclauos ni por gente ningunay que si ouiere de y sea de consentimiento del dho Juan ponce de lno de otra manera contanto que nos paguen el quinto e otros derechos que ouieremos de auer y nos pertenesçen de las armadas y cosas susodhas.

¶ Otros Por quanto en la dicha capitulacion e a sientoque con vos mande tomar al tiempo que yades a descubrir la dha ysla y o fizierdes alas personas que fuesen a descubrir la dha ysla y la poblasen dea quel viaje que portienpo y termino de doze años contados desde el dia que la dha ysla se descubriese y del oro y otros metales y cosas de provecho que ouiesen nos pagasen desde el primer año el diezmo y el segundo el no ueno el tercero el octauo y el quarto el sereno y el quinto la sexta parte y los otros años siguientes el quinto segun y como se paga en la ysla española por ende por la presente confirmo y proueo lo susodicho y es mi mrd que ay a he feto por tienpo de los dichos doze años los quales comiençan desde que se començaren a poblar las dichas yslas.

¶ Otrosi que yo dare licencia y por la presente lo doy al dho Juan ponce de lno para que pueda fazer y sedificar casas en las dichas yslas y pueblos de las casas de demorada de la manera que se hazen y labian en estos Reinos contanto que los aamientos dellas sean de vnatapia en otro de pie dra y lo otro de tierra y asi mismo pueda fazer qualesquier labranças de pan y bino y poner qualesquier Arboles frutales y frutuosos y otras cosas que en la dicha tierra se dieren.

¶ Y tenquedes pues que ayais fecho guerra a los dhos caribes





o a separado los caques yndios: y fecho los depa<sup>l</sup> podais yr  
oendiar con los nauios y gente de la dicha armada abisitar las  
dhas yslas de binini y ysla florida quando no ay necesidad de  
vra persona: e fazer sobre ello lo que mejor paresiere que conbiene.  
A nuestro Seruiço/

<sup>m</sup> Ten que para Seguridad que Vos. el dicho Juanponce y las  
personas que con vos fueren dais y cumplireis y sera cumplido  
guardado y pagado lo en esta capitulacion contenido que a  
vos pertenece guardar y cumplir antes que hagais el dicho  
viaje deis fianças llanas y abonadas a contentamiento de  
los nuestros oficiales que residen en la dicha ysla de sant juan

<sup>m</sup> E por ende cumpliendo Vos el dicho Juanponce Todo lo que diereis e cada cosa y parte dello  
e dad a las dichas fianças y guardando y pagando las cosas susodichas Vos prometoy  
seguro por la presente demandar guardar y cumplir todo lo en esta capitulacion contenido  
e cada cosa y parte dello y mando a los mis oficiales que residen en la ysla de sant juan que  
en mi nombre conforme a lo susodicho tomen con vos el dicho asiento y capitulacion y resaban  
las dhas fianças y para vro despacho mando a don diego colon mi almirante visorrey y gouernador  
de la ysla e spanola e a los mis juizes de apelacion que e nella residen e a los mis oficiales que  
residen en la dicha ysla de sant juan e a todos los justicias de las dhas yslas que vos dentro  
el fabor e ayuda que oviereis Menester sin que en ello ni en cosa alguna y parte dello se vos  
ponga ningun ympeimento. fecha en vallid a xxij de setiembre de D. V. años / Yo el Rey  
de fien dada de conchillos esta señalada del obispo. y quito sel a señal porquestos cosas de crimen

<sup>m</sup> capitan conde Belalq  
para la conquista de acetas yslas

- El Rey

<sup>m</sup> Por quanto Vos digo belalquez lugarteniente de mi Gouernador de la ysla fernandina que an  
tes de la maura decida y mi capitan y preparador della me seastes Belagon que vos por la mucha  
Voluntad que tenais al seruiço de la catholica reyna mi senora e mi palacio e gentami de mi orono  
real abeis descubierto a vna costa aceta tierra que por la rrelacion que tenais de los yndios queda  
llamados de la ysla de youcatan y cocu mel Alqual los Xpianos spanoles que en vro non  
bre descubrieron pusieron nombre. santamaria de los remedios y a si mesmo abeis descubier  
to otras acetas yslas y quedes pues de descubiertas las dhas yslas e tierra firme y por sa  
ber los secretos de la continecia y parecer de los padres e mis que por nuestro mandado de  
la ysla de spanola residen a vna costa tornastes a enbiar otra armada a la dicha tierra  
para la descubierta. e ver los pueytos de la qual la probeydad por vna delagente y  
mantenimiento necesarios a vna costa y por que vos continuando el dicho proposito e volun  
tad que tenais a nuestro seruiço querriades enbiar por otras partes gente e nauios para descubrir  
y poner de vna de mi yno y serbi dunbre las dhas tierras e yslas que asi abeis des  
cubierto e descubrirdes a vna costa y mision e descubrir otras me suplicastes que  
distes por mis yslas e mision de la conquista de las e vos hieses y e tocase las mias  
con las condiciones siguientes

## Appendix No. 2.8. Royal Decree to Juan Ponce de Leon.

1514<sup>584</sup>***Перевод описания документа.***

Генеральный Королевская грамота, выданная Хуану Понсе де Леону, аделантадо островов Флорида и Бимини и капитану острова Сан-Хуан, о том, чтобы выделить в доме, который у него есть в Пуэрто-Рико, комнату для книг и документов Казначейства для королевских чиновников.

Подписано 22 октября 1514 г. в г. Валбуена.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Orden a Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419, L.5, F.311R-311V [Signaturas anteriores]

***Fecha creación:*** 1514-10-22, Valbuena

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419, L.5, F.311R-311V

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Cédula a Juan Ponce de León, adelantado de las Islas Florida y Bimini y Capitán de la Isla de San Juan, para que dé en la casa que tiene en Puerto Rico, un aposentamiento para los libros y escrituras de la Hacienda, a los oficiales reales.

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246831?nm>

<sup>584</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 415,L.1,F.15V-16V: Orden a Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 22 de octubre 1514, Valbuena. – URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246831?nm>  
 (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).









Appendix No. 2.9. Royal Decree on the distribution of  
Indians. 1515<sup>585</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевский указ Хуану Понсе де Леону, аделантадо островов Флориды и Бимини, и лицензиату Веласкесу, о перераспределении индейцев острова Сан-Хуан, для возврата 50 индейцев, которые были отняты у Хуана де Суньи́га (Juan de Zúñiga), жителя указанного острова для Хуана Серона, администратора и губернатора острова.

Подписано 19 января 1515 г. в г. Вальядолиде.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Repartimiento de indios

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419, L.5, F.377R [Signaturas anteriores]

***Fecha creación:*** 1515-01-19, Valladolid

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419, L.5, F.377R

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Cédula a Juan Ponce de León, Adelantado de las islas Florida y Bimini, y al licenciado Velázquez, repartidores de los indios de la isla de San Juan, para que devuelvan los 50 indios que le fueron quitados a Juan de Zúñiga, vecino de dicha isla, por Juan Cerón, alcalde mayor.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246940?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246940?nm)

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<sup>585</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.377R : Repartimiento de indios  
[Fecha de creación] 01 de enero 1519, Valladolid. – URL:  
<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246940?nm>  
(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).







Appendix No. 2.11. Royal Certificate of King Fernando Vii  
on the establishment of an audience in Santo Domingo,  
issued in Burgas on October 5, 1517 г.<sup>586</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевский указ иеронимитам, судьям-комиссарам Индий, дающий им полномочия, предоставленные в соответствии с инструкциями, которые они имеют и которые наиболее подходят для сторон, в рассмотрении жалобы Хуана Понсе де Леона на Диего Веласкеса, губернатора острова Фернандина (Isla Fernandina, современная Куба), на то, что [Веласкес] отправился под предлогом изучения на острова Бимины и Флорида и захватил на них триста индейцев, которые гарантировались Хуану Понсе де Леону, что было против договора с Хуаном Понсе, заключенного с указанным первооткрывателем этих частей.

Подписано 22 июля 1517 г. в г. Мадриде.

(Документ подписан кардиналом Франсиско Хименес де Сиснеросом (исп. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros ) – К.А.)

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Orden a los jerónimos de Indias

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419, L.6, F.641V [[Signaturas anteriores](#)]

***Fecha creación:*** 1517-07-22, Madrid

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419, L.6, F.641V

***Alcance y contenido:***

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<sup>586</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V: Orden a los jerónimos de Indias  
. [Fecha de creación] 22 de julio 1517, Madrid. –  
URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/247339?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

Real Cédula a los jerónimos, jueces comisarios de Indias, dándoles la comisión de que provean conforme a la instrucción que llevan y más convenga a aquellas partes e indios, en la querella de Juan Ponce de León contra Diego Velázquez, gobernador de la isla Fernandina, por haber ido so pretexto de descubrir una isla, a las islas de Bimini y Florida y traído de ellas trescientos indios que aseguró en nombre de S.S.A.A. en contra de la capitulación tomada con el dicho Juan Ponce descubridor de aquellas partes

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/247339?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/247339?nm)  
[nm](#)



Appendix No. 2.11. Royal Certificate of King Fernando Vii  
on the establishment of an audience in Santo Domingo,  
issued in Burgas on October 5, 1511.<sup>587</sup>

***Изображение не предоставляется.***

Полностью документ может быть доступен для чтения под заголовком **«Королевская грамота Фернандо V, учреждающая аудиенцию в Санто-Доминго»**, включенный в «Сборник неопубликованных документов по истории Испании», том II, страницы 285-293<sup>588</sup>.

***Перевод краткого описания документа*** о создании аудиенции в Санто-Доминго в 1511 г. ***из Генерального архива Индий (AGI).***

Самая старая из Аудиенций – Аудиенция в Санто-Доминго (la Audiencia de Santo Domingo) – была основана 5 октября 1511 г., когда никто еще не думал о создании Совета Индии. Она функционировала не только как суд, но и как руководящий орган, и для выполнения обеих функций ей была отведена большая территория. Она определила, что территориальная юрисдикция будет распространяться на «все города и места всех упомянутых островов, [Западной] Индии и Огненной Земли». Это широкое и общее территориальное разграничение соответствует моменту завоевания, когда оно произошло.

Территории, которые подпадали под юрисдикцию Аудиенции Индий (Audiencia de Indias), значительно расширились, но на самом деле в 1511 г. они распространялись только на Эспаньолу, остров Сан-Хуан и Ямайку.

Постепенно сюда добавились остров Фернандина (современная Куба), Кастилья-дель-Оро, Новая Испания (1522

<sup>587</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI/26: Audiencia de Santo Domingo. [Fecha de creación] 1582, Santo\_Domingo. – URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/1859548?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

<sup>588</sup> CDI - Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía: sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias: T. 1-42/ Bajo la dirección de los Sres. D. Joaquín F. Pacheco y D. Francisco de Cárdenas y D. Luis Torres de Mendoza ; Archivo General de Indias. Madrid, 1864—1884. URL: <https://archive.org/details/coleccindedocu02madruoft/page/284/mode/2up>

г.), Верагуа, Никарагуа, Гватемала, Гондурас (1523 г.), Венесуэла, Санта-Марта (1523 г.).

Точно так же Флорида с момента ее открытия Понсе де Леоном в 1512 г. (фактически в 1513 г.) и до момента основания форта Сан-Агустин в 1562 г. находилась под юрисдикцией Audiencia de Santo Domingo.

**Titulo nombre atribuido:** Audiencia de Santo Domingo

**Signatura:** Santo\_Domingo

**Fecha formación:** 1518 - 1852

**Código de referencia:** ES.41091.AGI/26

**Contiene:** Esta Unidad descriptiva contiene 2857 unidades más

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/1859548?>

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Appendix No. 2.12. The contract concluded by King Ferdinand II of Aragon with Francisco de Garay. 1521<sup>589</sup>

**Перевод описания документа.**

Контракт, который король заключил с Франсиско де Гараем, чтобы заселить земли, которые тот может обнаружить и которые ранее были указаны Кристобалем де Тапия и отличались от тех, которые уже были обнаружены пришедшими туда ранее Диего Веласкесом и Хуаном Понсе де Леоном.

Гарай вышел на четырех кораблях с разрешения от преподобных отцов-иеронимитов, которые правили (в 1519 г.) в то время, чтобы открыть какой-либо залив или пролив в Тьерра-Фирме. Они прошли 8 или 9 морей, и в них они нашли только Флориду, что была открыта Хуаном Понсе де Леоном. Они вернулись на запад и нашли Эрнандо Кортеса и его людей. Таким образом, то, что было найдено им, было отмечено в дополнение к тому, что было показано и обнаружено Гараем, который проплыл более чем 300 лиг и вступил во владение этой землей от имени Его Величества. 1521 г.

**Titulo nombre atribuido:** Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas

**Signatura:** PATRONATO,26,R.15

**Fecha creación:** 1521

**Código de referencia:** ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15

**Alcance y contenido:**

Contrata que hizo el rey con Francisco de Garay para poblar las tierras que había descubierto y se debían antes señalar por Cristóbal de Tapia, y distinguir de las ya descubiertas por los adelantados Diego Velázquez y Juan Ponce de León Salió Garay con licencia de los reverendos padres jerónimos, que entonces gobernaban (en 1519), con cuatro navíos, para descubrir algún golfo o estrecho en Tierra Firme. Anduvieron 8 ó 9 mares y en ellos sólo encontraron la Florida que había descubierto Juan Ponce de León. Retrocedieron para el poniente y encontraron a Hernán Cortés y a su gente. Así se amojonó lo descubierto por éste, además de lo visto y descubierto por Garay que eran más de 300 leguas, y tomó posesión en nombre de Su Majestad. Año de 1521

<sup>589</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,26,R.15: Contrata con Francisco de Garay: poblar tierras descubiertas. [Fecha de creación] 1521, Santo Domingo. – URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121912?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



nm <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121912?>

trid dñe costa e paço me on phastes e xedistes por m̃ vos dñe h̃. salueta  
galle / como la m̃ q̃d fneat e yo por las dñhas abas e p̃m apal ment por q̃ en las  
dñhas tñas o plant m̃a fta fee a tolica y los yn dñs natucales dñla o dñreca y  
venge en conu a m̃ dñla obida en la pol aq̃ e congera q̃es rrazo todm molo por b̃  
on las on dñaciones e segund e dñla forma o maño q̃ e ynso ora dñtemp benefa yn p̃

[illegible]

primio menti dñe seprodere q̄ llegado a q̄lo por  
 tūas exblas enlos tūm̄s. Ch̄myes q̄ anenlog on  
 di dñe secombuto d̄ labuena v̄ntma. lo p̄mo es po  
 nor non de atodas las abda de villas e lo p̄nics q̄  
 hallard q̄ enla d̄ha tūe. dñe or h̄ziere con gr̄a d̄  
 d̄mo mydado y vigilanas y dar her dñ enlas o las d̄  
 ments y nel o sarias ala d̄mencia d̄ m̄as̄ia f̄e o to  
 lio. q̄ala conber oio d̄mo m̄ q̄o c̄yn d̄nos y ala buena  
 her dñ el omyas x̄ d̄ d̄ y el m̄to d̄vino.

Una ellas es la de Arenas de Paredes en q̄ aduē m̄ ho & m̄ por  
es en los aduētos de los logares q̄ alla or aduē de so  
zer y om̄re lo ymo cober quēos logares es m̄ n̄ster  
q̄ oñaga aduētos en la q̄sta illa m̄ pora o ḡm̄ d̄ d̄  
de la navega a d̄ y por lo ḡm̄ d̄ d̄ la t̄ra q̄ los q̄  
an d̄ or q̄ a d̄ ḡm̄ d̄ la navega a d̄ oñ m̄ en tales oñ  
or̄os q̄ los navios q̄ d̄ a d̄ d̄ oñ p̄o f̄uē en or̄ p̄ne d̄ m̄







a proveyer de ellos en le fues en dagna y las otras co-  
sas q fueren menester para ondiar en el lugar q a-  
gora estan fijos como en los q de mudo o huzien pa-  
de mior q sea en ditios sanos y no anega dias y and  
o pnedd a proveyer de la mior qd cargo y de cargo  
sin q ayatrabajo e costa de los por tita las mior  
duras q d aca fuerd y si por respeto de estar mas  
granos alas mior q d uera d meter la tita dentro  
de dese mudo mior q por alguna libera se oned de  
vor las cosas q d aca fuerd de la mior hasta la pobla-  
do por q no diend alla vestias seria grandisimo el  
trabajo pa los honbres llevarlo a nestas y mios d  
aca mios de alla lo podra sufrir y los q se asientos  
seba d mior q o an abuenas agnas y abuenos co-  
res y oca d mior y d buena tita ala brama y de  
tas cosas las q mas pndieren tener.

Vistas las cosas q dona los asientos a los lugares so-  
nes o sarias y coopi dos y el ditio mas proveyoso y en  
q yn mior mas alla cosas q d el pueblo son menester  
aveya de lepartir los solares el lugar qd ha qe las  
sas vestas and en lepartir dos segund las ali dad de las  
personas a qe o diend y lo q cada vno diere se di d y  
des d el comjencia sehan de dar y oned de dar de den pa-  
mana qd fijos los solares el pueblo pazeza hor d na  
do and en el lugar q se d y d ga plaza como el lu-  
gar en q diere don lay qd como en la hor d qto  
diere los tales pueblos en los se dios y ediffiados  
publicos por q en los lugares q d mudo o huzien d  
do la hor d en el comjencia sin yn pnd trabajo  
costa qd d hor d nados y los otros samas n hor d  
no y entanto q no huziendos qd de los ofiios  
del legim y petnos adis d mandon qe a do pna-  
blo los el qd entres qd on año dand qsonas a  
biles pa legir and mudo no se on d repartir los q  
re d mios e segund la ali dad o mana las qsonas  
e segund lo q d diend on la ore ad en la re dad y d  
repartim a d on d mana q todos q d dlo bueno  
y dlo mediano y dlo menos bueno segund la qd q  
cada vno sele diere de dar en on calidad.



Ver na la guerra en espe aal ment q los qortomard en  
 ella bivos and on es rabios y q esto tengo entera noti  
 cia y q no pmeda pretendi y noram qd y porq pa glo pue  
 dan ser y los prianos lo pmeda tener con sona con aen  
 aa esta to do el fin da miento en lo mdo qd adies des  
 tar sobre el aviso de una cosa q to dos los prianos repa  
 les q d aca van tienen mihagana q seon d guerra y q  
 no seon depaz y q siempre and hablar en este proposito  
 y adique no sepuedan es mfor de nle platiar con ellos  
 co bien estar avisado desto para el credito que en  
 ello seles de de dar y pries q aca que el mas sano pa  
 res q para esto sera

En mupia manera adies de hazer repartimento de  
 yndios por los pobla dores q en la dha tria estoviermp  
 q d aqello como vos sabeis adensd tod el mal y  
 q ha avido en los yndios de las yslas spanola q san/nan  
 y el mal tratamiento q seles ha fecho sino lo q con ellos  
 o tratades a d on por via de comerao o contrata do  
 de endolmtad no d ota maña q en a lo q ysta via yste  
 ma ad q se forma q nos enbiam des alla con dros alaxi  
 de las dhas trias q como por estadia no q suen estar en  
 via amptad y nos vos enbiamos a man dar q hagais p  
 portar de ellos y or encomiend a los de zinos por habm  
 as adies d ha zer q or gnar den las hor d nanas q pa ello  
 estan hechas por nos por q or an fecho con miba y informa  
 con y q d aq ella maña sera mas conardados y mejor tra  
 tados y mas dotinados en ma sta fe atvira por  
 de noora de d m mpx de las mpxna esp antes q sal  
 yna esp vier des de mas alo q en ellas o con tien q sed  
 de ha zer en p d vho y onado ad alos yndios y donda  
 ind y conder oyo y dotina oia bien q or hagn gage  
 ellos oian mejor tratados y bido en mas contento  
 miento en d pa mja alos cristianos la tre onle ad esto  
 es q tod lo q ag y enl apitulo antes dte o dize co  
 pa q con amor y volmtad y amptad y buen tratam  
 sean traydo a ma sta fe atvira y o com se d for a  
 alos y mal tratellos pa ello qnto fuere posible por q  
 desta maña o oy dria mmb meo amor y yo meterne  
 deos por mmy orbid enllo.



abeyas de pro curar por todas las manas obras que  
 re des pensare des q sea ello and aproue hor y por to  
 das las otras dias y for mas qor en dios tener alon  
 reponer qor podria hazer atiaer con buenas obras a  
 q los a qos q yndios q en las dhas trias q i las q onq  
 aduis de mbierto abitare esen a los repantiles ento  
 a amor y amistad y por esta via o haga tod lo q or o  
 viere dhazer a ellos y paglle mejor o haga la pyn  
 apal cosa q aduis de pro curar esno a rentir q por  
 vos ni por otras psonas alonas oles haga mal mda  
 no m fuerca alguna sino q or an trata de mny bdy  
 como nros vasallos y como los otros spanoles q en la  
 dhatria estovierd y en nynpda mana seles q brant  
 nynpda cosa q les fuere prometid sino q ant q pla  
 meta de mpre a mny m y dad sise lo pmed gna rde  
 y sino or med bien hazer q no or les prometa qd  
 prometien d seles gna rde entera ment sin mny  
 falta de mana q les conpaie en mnyla dffiaa de  
 vna verdad qno aduis de consentir m q metir q oles  
 haga mny mda mal m dano porq al m yed no or albo ro  
 id m sele bonid antes aduis mnyho de castigar a los q  
 le fizierd enojo o mal tratam y o dano al pno por  
 q por esta via verda antes ala conder cyo y al conozi  
 miento de dios y de nra sta fee otolira q es mo pti  
 apal de feo y mas segana en conder tir aento de stama  
 nera que aen m yll por otra via.

y en caso q por esta via no quiesieren venir a nra obidien  
 cia y seles oviere dhazer guerra aduis de m y ror q por m  
 gna cosa seles haga guerra no siend ellos los apressos y  
 no aduend hajo o pndad a hazer mal o dano a nra  
 te y a nra los a q cometid antes a red de conellos les  
 hague de nra pte los requmys nes q orius pag vengn  
 a nra obediencia vna y d y qez vezos y mas vezos qntas  
 vier des q or an nes o farias conforme a lo q aduis hor d  
 nado y firmado de nra d fiamano y ornes alla adra al  
 gnos qstianos q sabra la lengua conellos les da veyo pi  
 mero a en ten de el bien q les verda de poner o dho de  
 nra obidiana y el mal y dano mny mda de honbras q les







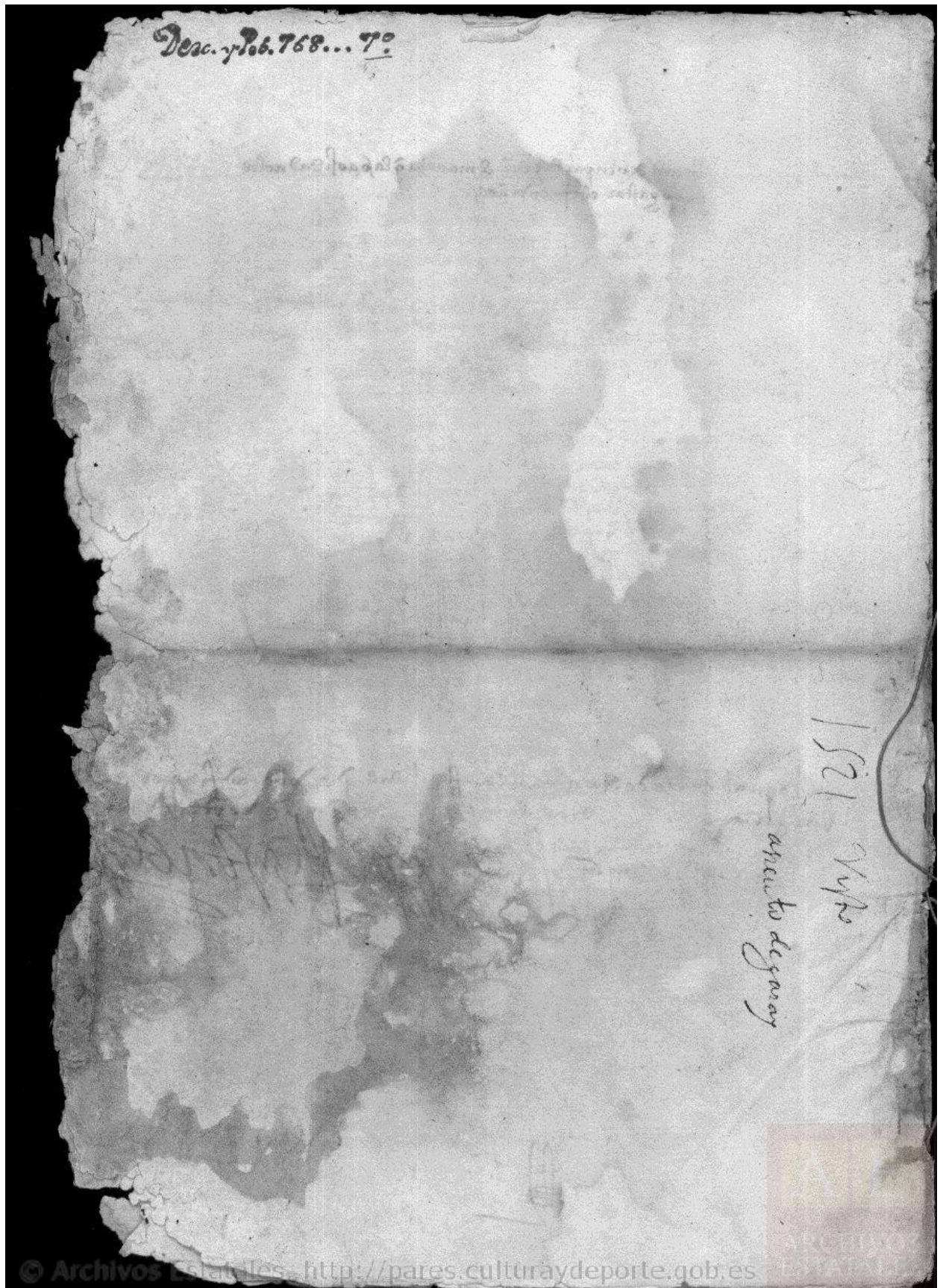
Enrad des cupon lapent & manera q la p aosi dad noles  
 paga gastax el tpo en vi a os/

en lo qual entiendo an a ella fidelidad q de voo a fiamos de  
 burgos a dias d de mayo e vete e na

A Car. de m. p. m.







Appendix No. 2.13. Letter of Juan Ponce de Leon to the King about his intention to settle Florida and other islands discovered by him.1521 г.<sup>590</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Письмо от аделантадо Хуана Понсе де Леона, информировавшего, что он открыл в принадлежащем ему регионе за свой счет остров Флорида и другие острова, и что он возвращается, чтобы заселить их. Он добавляет, что через пять дней он отправится в экспедицию, в силу чего просит определенные гранты.

Это письмо сопровождается другим [письмом] на имя кардинала Тортосы.

Подписано в Сан-Хуане-де-Пуэрто-Рико, 15 февраля 1521 г.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Juan Ponce de León: descubrimiento de la Florida y otras islas

***Signatura:*** PATRONATO,176, R.9

***Fecha creación:*** 1521-02-10

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,176, R.9

***Alcance y contenido:*** Carta del adelantado Juan Ponce de León, informando de haber descubierto a su costa la isla de la Florida y otras de su comarca, y que volvía a poblarlas. Añade que cinco días después iría a otros descubrimientos, en cuya virtud pide ciertas mercedes Acompaña otra

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<sup>590</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento]  
 ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,176,R.9: Juan Ponce de León: descubrimiento de la Florida y otras islas [Fecha de creación] 10 de febrero 1521. – URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/124881?nm>  
 (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

dirigida al cardenal de Tortosa. San Juan de Puerto Rico, 15 de febrero de 1521.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/124881?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/124881?nm)  
nm



208

[illegible]

Debra m. g.

esclavos / e zydos q' p'ns mny  
vren les p'cs ymanos. be sa

PATRONATO, 176. = R<sup>2</sup> 9 (1)

Importe de leo











1521

Illustration  
ren d' si mo le no 2

23

208

[illegible]

quando y se dize de un y en sy / may tiene  
di ma - 5.

Impore  
daleo

PATRONATO, 176, R. 9 (2)





Ver. y Rob. 723... 70

1524

al Carz  
de la pona de los  
de la casa de los

*(Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page)*

1921



Appendix No. 2.14. Decree of the King on assistance in the execution of a court decision on the property of Adelantado Juan Ponce de Leon. 1523 г.<sup>591</sup>

***Перевод описания документа. Генеральный архив Индий.***

Королевский указ губернаторам, мэрам, судебным приставам и другим судебным органам [Вест] Индий, чтобы они свершили правосудие по просьбе наследников аванса Хуана Понсе де Леона, касающееся двух загруженных кораблей, которые он [Понсе де Леон] привел во Флориду, и золотого слитка для покупки лошадей и продажи их на Юкатане, который он [Понсе де Леон] оставил, когда умер в Сан-Кристобаль-де-ла-Гавана (San Cristóbal de la Habana), и которые были изъяты держателем имущества покойного Хуана де Олиаса (Juan de Olías) и мэром этой виллы Диего де Кастанедой (Diego de Castañeda), не давшими им ничего.

Подписано в г. Вальядолид 4 июля 1523 г.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Justicia sobre los bienes del adelantado Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V

***Fecha creación:*** 1523-07-04 , Valladolid

|  |                  |                           |
|--|------------------|---------------------------|
| <b><i>Código</i></b>                             | <b><i>de</i></b> | <b><i>referencia:</i></b> |
| ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V |                  |                           |

<sup>591</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento]  
 ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,420,L.9,F.163R-163V: Justicia sobre los bienes del adelantado Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 07 de marco 1523, Valladolid.  
 URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/248726?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real cédula a los gobernadores, alcaldes, alguaciles y otras justicias de Indias para que hagan justicia a petición de los herederos del adelantado Juan Ponce de León sobre los dos navíos cargados que llevaba para la Florida y la barra de oro para comprar caballos y venderlos en Yucatán, que dejó al morir en San Cristóbal de la Habana, y fueron tomados por el tenedor de bienes de difuntos Juan de Olías y el alcalde de dicha villa Diego de Castañeda sin acudir a ellos con nada.

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/248726?  
nm](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/248726?nm)









Appendix No. 2.15. Description of cases in Florida from  
1518 to 1527.<sup>592</sup>

**Перевод описания документа.**

**У документа нет автора или даты. Документ сопровождает описание:**

- документ о том, чем можно было бы помочь Флориде;
- документ, в котором перечислены определенные положения Флориды.

**Примечание:**

В досье, составленном в Мексике по просьбе полевого капитана Висенте де Сальдивара от его имени и от имени выдвинутого на должность дона Хуана де Оньяте, губернатора и генерал-капитана королевств Нью-Мексико, о помощи, которую они просили;

В нем говорится следующее: еще до смерти Хуана Понсе де Леона, первооткрывателя провинции Флорида, Франсиско де Гарай в 1518 г. собрал несколько каравелл на острове Ямайка, чтобы последовать за этим открытием, и индейцы Флориды помешали многим из тех, кто сопровождал его. Однако Гарай вернулся в 1519 г., и с ним случилось то же самое (вторая поездка не гарантирована). Гарай был назначен губернатором и правителем провинции Пануко; на свои деньги в 1523 г. он собрал 11 кораблей, на которых он перевез более 700 испанцев и 154 лошади, чтобы продолжить

<sup>592</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] 419,L.5,F.252V-253V:  
Nombramiento de Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 27 de  
septiembre 1514, Valladolid. -  
URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/246769?nm)  
nm (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

открытие. Все договоренности были нарушены и Гарай удалился в Мексику, где и умер. Панфило де Нарваес покинул Санлукар-де-Баррамедас, чтобы открыть Флориду или Рио-де-лас-Пальмас в 1527 г. с 5 кораблями, 600 испанцами, 100 лошадьми, припасами, оружием и одеждой. Его отъезд последовал после того, как Франсиско де Гарай открыл 500 лиг от Флориды до Пануко. Эта экспедиция была провальной из-за ошибки навигатора Мируэло и его спутников. Испанцы съели друг друга, жертвой этого стали Памофа, Сотомайор, Эрнандо де Эскивель, уроженец Бадахоса, Диего Лопес, Гонсало Руис, Корраль, Сьерра, Паласиос и другие.

***Titulo nombre atribuido:*** Descripción de la Florida

***Signatura:*** PATRONATO,19,R.33

***Código de referencia:*** ES.41091.AGI//PATRONATO,19,R.33

***Alcance y contenido:*** Descripción exacta de la Florida. No tiene autor ni fecha. Acompaña: Documento sobre lo que podría socorrerse a la Florida. - Documento que relaciona ciertas disposiciones de la Florida. Nota: En un expediente formado en México a instancias del maestro de campo, Vicente de Zaldívar en su nombre y en el del adelantado don Juan de Oñate, gobernador y capitán general de los reinos del Nuevo México, sobre ciertos socorros que pedían; consta lo siguiente: por muerte de Juan Ponce de León, descubridor de la provincia de la Florida, Francisco de Garay armó ciertas carabelas en la isla de Jamaica en el año de 1518 para seguir el descubrimiento, y los indios floridos les desbarataron muchos de los que le acompañaban. Sin embargo, volvió Garay en 1519 y le sucedió lo mismo, (este segundo viaje no se asegura). Se nombró a Garay gobernador y adelantado de la provincia del Pánuco; ya con dineros propios en 1523 armó 11 navíos en los que llevó para proseguir el descubrimiento más de 700 españoles y 154 caballos. Todo fue desbaratado y Garay se retiró a México, donde murió. Pánfilo de Narváez salió de Sanlúcar de Barrameda

para el descubrimiento de la Florida o río de las Palmas en 1527, con 5 navíos, 600 españoles, 100 caballos, bastimentos, armas y vestidos. Su salida fue posterior al descubrimiento que hizo Francisco de Garay de las 500 leguas que hay desde la Florida a Pánuco. Perdióse esta expedición por ignorancia del piloto Miruel y sus compañeros. Los españoles se comieron unos a otros, cuyas víctimas fueron Pamofa, Sotomayor, Hernando de Esquivel, natural de Badajoz, Diego López, Gonzalo Ruiz, Corral, Sierra, Palacios, y otros. Véase: Patronato,22,R.4

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/121652?nm>



Y Santa Elena donde esta el fuerte nos da firme de la florida sino una isilla que tiene de largo una legua y de ancho media y por amugas partes muy bonitas / y ella es de noroeste a sueste. y esta entreinta y dos grados y binteros tiene puerto y madero de la mar como rio. va del puerto hasta el fuerte y des de el puerto donde son cen los nativos hasta el fuerte otra binteros de arribas pocos mas anchos y junto a la otra parte ciego. esta el fuerte deb de Santa Elena alahien firme ay de cayos y isollas y mays y otros de alomares en diez leguas y otros cayos son bajos mays agrios y por tomados mutiles / esta isla de S. Elena feclue de agua del mar cada crecienta de luna y aynas bibas de tres partes della las dos por todas partes salvo por la parte donde es el fuerte que es mas alta / y en estas duas dos partes no se puede labrar ny aprobar cosa alguna por q las bonas comen y quedan mutiles. la otra tercera parte es todo monte y ay en algunas pequerias cabayllas deb montadas y se talan q seran mas comodas otras como otras como seis axcales de casas de labradores de castilla las quales las que alli ay y de mader montado y cortado el monte que es muy alto y copado de robles y pinos y liquidambares y nogales y almillos alm q no prospera y enca frasin y cortado y deb montado esto siembran en ello maiz / todo lo que esta deb cubierto y deb montado y rogado para feclue fera campo en que se pueden sembrar siete o ocho comenos de maiz y mas en toda la isla / estas cosas se ban con mucho catione y ne da poco finto y dicen q de agua a cinco o seis mos no da finto ny erroran para poder sembrar por que ayn dondo poco finto. los quezos de las casas o buehos siembran legumbrabamos y coles y calabacas / el maiz se siembra de poco qarb. puede ser mucho por no abertiera y la gente solo con la acaron no puede sembrar mucho y tiene muchas plagas. especial mente de grande multitud de grassos q en nacimiento el maiz lo acoran con y comen y antes q dar a comer topan la simiente y de que qui comen lo comen tambien grassos y todos y hordas y zorros de sueste que siembran y cose con grande trabajo. y en toda la isla no ay otra cosa de que se pueda abar la finta sino solo de sueste o maiz. ny tiene otro si no latieren para con industria y trabajo poder se aprobar en ella de cosa alguna que se pueda el sustento de la vida humana / En ella no ay vacas ny puerros ny oveas ny cabras ny otro ganado alguno ny puede abar ny criarse por que no ay donde ny de que poder se criar / y los puerros llebo alli un hombre de la isla de cuba felenorion de gombel quolo podia sustentar al ~~maiz~~ a las personas y venderlos alagente galharia con dos o tres maiz pa q se crien en sueste / y los osos y leones y lobos y zorros que alli ay los comen de sueste q por mas lagente puede comen carne. y si alguna adese salada traida de la isla de cuba y solo las resacas que enlaman y enteros q por alli ay y asi pel conde asirio para se sustentan. y muchos dias y meses de maiz sin maiz ny otra cosa alguna se compasado con solo lo que se comen y esto con mucho pa q no ay qun force ny red. sino es en casa del gober nador para su casa. el fuerte es de maderos y tablones que son fargo los soldados. los quales siempre siembran en carne acaron y abarime aque los palos maderos por que no ay caballo





my mula my otra bestia de servicio de guerra y trabajan en estos oficios y trabajos  
cada dia y para casa del governador hacen otras cosas y obras muyas y  
enofito sirven mas de ganadores y peones que de soldados

y Santo augustin lo que es

Y Santo augustin donde primero estubo el fuerte y gente es una islella pegada  
y Santo augustin donde agora esta el fuerte y gente es otra que esta muyto al por-  
mura donde solia estar primero el fuerte y esta donde agora esta es casi sola por  
que esta rodeada de agua alta que tiene por una parte descubierta por donde pue-  
den pasar al tierra firme esta en veinte y nueve grados y medio tiene de largo tres  
o quatro leguas y de ancho muy poco que es muyto alta en legua y por algunas por-  
teb menos. Cubrelamon cada uno muyto parte del statione. En toda monte de  
enzinas pinos y robles y por donde baxo. Menos de diez y seis que se puede labrar salvo una  
parte que es muyto y alli siembran maiz y desta tierra tiene la mayor de ella el  
governador que haze alli seubon a los soldados para el  
y en Santo augustin haze los pobladores casados. En los soldados que algunos son cas-  
dos y otros no cada poblador tanta tierra como una mediania guerra que para lo que  
en tierra solo puede caber con un acodon solo le basta muyto mas que se ocupa  
cada dia media en molar el maiz que ade comer a quel dia por que no se puede en-  
molar molido my cozido para otro dia que es gran trabajo y continuo trabajo molido  
cada dia amano lo que se siembra es maiz y calabazas por que otros semillas de en-  
esta no siembran bien. Siembra cada poblador doze y quinze y hasta veinte libras  
de maiz y nomas y molido que se siembra maiz 40. o 50. libras no se siembra mas por ser solo  
cada uno anen acodon y abe de molar amano cada dia la comida no ay otra cosa de que  
se poder aproberjar my la tierra tiene disposicion para poderlo abar al muyto mas trabajo  
y industria de que se en ello

Y en la islella donde primero estubo el fuerte y esta muyto alante agora esta ay hasta en q  
reses vacunas las quales no aproberjan a los de my soldados my sematemporia a un  
sino es quando el governador para si quiere matar una algunas vez. En las cunpuras  
reses no multiplican y si por en sembrar las crias por falta de comida y por muchos  
tabanos grandes que alli ay y mos quitos muytos y otros y leones y no tienen agua dulce  
para beber el ganado sino es que lleue. Ay hasta en q queros y otros tambien  
multiplican poco y se muyto perdiendo y semorion. Los crias no tener comida my agua  
dulce y los comen osos y leones y no aproberjan sino que el governador algunas vez  
para si haze matar una. Estos se muyto y quida y andan en los montes flados que no  
son de aproberjar si de guerra ay no de aproberjar. No es tierra para poder criar leona-  
dos no ay otro animal my ganado de guerra my cabrino my otro que se pueda comer  
y asi es forzoso comer solo lo que pes con. Los vezinos dicen algunas pocas ga-  
llinas por no tener maiz para criarlas my para comer ellos y otras pocas gallinas  
comen matico y asi ellos saben a el y a pescar.

El fuerte es de tablas y maderos gruesos para pillarlos. En un quarto ocinco años que  
se pueden las maderas. En la humedad de la tierra y para ser la tierra salobre y de muy  
vante los soldados y trabajan todo el año en este fuerte y casos para los gobernado-  
res y otras cosas. Y cuando esto muyto meses no les dan racion my paga y asi se m-  
quido mactaron de hambre y de hambre que pasan pero como no tienen donde ir por  
tierra my natio en que salir por mar no lo en ferzo. Y quando les dan racion no  
les dan lo que en m. munda y se le da. m. libra de harina y como vienen con sacos de  
trabajar y mde molar y en la comida por que no tienen quien lo haze se dexan mal  
pasar. Y este maiz molido o harina que la ay herbas tocillos los quizen o asan  
entre la ceniza o en caldo. cada vez que ande comelo.

Y de el puerto donde llegan los navios hasta donde esta el fuerte ay media legua  
poco mas o menos. De el fuerte no pueden de fin dex a los nativos qm enon  
que no entran en el puerto my tampoco de por nes de el en el puerto en el  
en el los pueden ofender my haze mal.

SEVILLA

otro dos



- ✓ Estos dos fuertes quellomon opoblacione no son para poder poblar ny sustentar gente en ellos en ninguna manera y a que no ay. fiera como esta dicho. <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> 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<sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

### V Cumplimiento de lo capitulado

- ✓ quanto al cumplimiento de la capitulacion y asiento q se tomo con el adelantado p merced de aliles. por lo arriba dicho con el q no cumplio pue no asento en la Florida y a serto en parte donde no se pue poblar ny salutar ny en mny as asentados ny donde se pue de conseguir el intento de lo capitulado y no pble en la Florida firme donde se alia de poblar que se pue de dezir que no era en la Florida y siendo asi parece q no ay necesidad del cumplimiento de los demas capitulos y asientos para q se cumplan ny para q se manente los cumplidos en estos dos fuertes o asentados sino en firma firme salvable por que alia q alia selle vaser los labradores que era obligados y lo demas seria perder los y por ende lo tobo lo que segundamente de pue del asiento era principal q se meten qm ni en los negros e indios para un perlativa y labradora y q seer fuerte de pue de ofiera no a cumplido en la alima y asi lo declaro y repartio el mes no adelantado p menter de alia provision real q le fuere notificada y los labradores que alli llevo estan muy enojados y apalados para q no los llevo donde pueban labrar ny sustentar se y asi se quejan grande mente dello

### V quejas que dan y apalados

- ✓ Lagente que alli era asi soldados como es de pocos labradores era con grandissimo de contento y como fienidos y cantibos y asi el que tiene alon canbal dello me paxo de ebo para odellas pagas. dicen q lo quieren aliar para de canse y dolo al goberna dice q alli ala sazon era para q los dexa salir y asi con dolo licencia amirgos a algunos con alguna cosa y otros sin ella y todos pagan la salida alon que se aliamon con aqne de pue para los fletes de aver los traido de ebo para qn vinieron estando otros do. a tenerlos el adelantado a su costa. y esto fue probado en la real cedula que aqny se tomo apmenender moques y agora embendi aqny algunos para la mesma adon desto curo no tiene culpa el adelantado p menterlos sino los q pone alli para gobernadores por que como cada dia se mudan y pone los q le paxen y todos de mto y porientes y mox adios se toman quenta y residencia no dexan de fazer lo que les estabien y le trae proberjo. paningm reboeto.
- ✓ que se tambien de que no les donacion como en m. munda y que dicen se laban con endinero no aliendo en lativa dedonde comprata y q alia el mero de rason dos años que no fies da y ten dicen que ordenaron de donles locacion en que ellos quisieren y que entre tobo el mero q en m. gasta en poder y como son los que lo colan y los que lo pagan fazon se asi pago y quedan se contado
- ✓ y tendien y se quejan que quando desta isla de cuba va alli bario con canes salada y curisal o otra cosa que no consienten que vaya en el bario. otra canne salada de canes al gmo sino de ellos del adelantado y gobernadores ny otra mercaderia por vender lo al precio q ellos quisieren. y aqny me rogaron tres canes de la florida q los qize se maestre los que via recibir por q p menterlos de mto q aqny aestado no lo consienta y ten q la ropa de lino y calado y lo demas como es de los gobernadores pone el adelantado y del mero adelantado. tambien al precio q quieren muy exesivo y el adelantado viendo se de mto y de calco y que no lee poder ny sabe si se le adepaga o qmudo toma esto aqal qm precio y este es exesivo que no tiene remedio lo lo que aqny eneto yo de mto agora es. que p menterlos moques. paxo de firma firme diez y siete quentos. es casos colonos de los ofes de en m. del situado en m. tiene para estos fuertes y paxom mza canibal de los cumplidos en ropa y mercaderias para vender muy de mto y porie pella vendio aqny en su casa. y el mero res tanto q paxo. lo mto q no lo llevo ny entro a la Florida y en lo m bario con canes de ropa y mercaderias para q los repartiesen entre los soldados y asi se lo repartio a los m. precios como en bizo los q de alla embendi. para retener el aqny y q seer se pago de mto canibal como



como montaba la tropa que entro que en lo uno y en lo otro adelantay con cantidad  
y toda esta piden los soldados que cada uno tubo se paxerian bastante  
no solo para esto pero de 5 agostini vino a esta villa de la gabana m p menen  
dez de alites q alli embuya a gente nuda a colora del p menendez marques estos  
diez y siete cientos q alla traid y el me no p menendez de alites a ferso otro  
tanto q sin llevar cantidad alguna ala florin y automa cantidad de qm  
no mil ducados enropa del p menendez marques y automa cantidad de otras  
per sonas y lo embio ala florin y fueres para con su mra toda esta cantidad que  
de cobrado de heria firme sin q ala florin vaya a vna al entiero compoa cam  
dad de qm q se me bno mero de la cobranca emplearon y al adelantado en cam m  
aqui once mil de q dizen le bnan de mas de dos años y de mientos y todo  
lo demas va asi en todas las cosas y la pobre gente no lee para su rador  
y en esto nace entre otros murdos un inconveniente que algunos de los labradores  
y otros empobrecidos alos soldados de cam m y mas cosas de heria q traxeron de  
cam m cono cam m q qn venga a pagar de las vacinas y sueldos de los soldados  
seem ellos y agudos y qn viene a pagar por mra de los gobernadores y el al con  
tado p mra de otras cosas y mra de otras q les mra y los q son mas mra y  
aquellos mra de otros p mra de otros para comer segun son sin paga  
y en como el p menendez de alites tomo aqui la gente al p menendez marques  
de los diez y siete cientos q mra en la galia de heria firme y como todos son mra y  
demas se pasa en cuenta mra cantidad de cosas y an si me no le da mil y d  
entos ducados por cierto dias q ire se o mra en cobrar los de los of de heria firme  
al con q lo q mra de cam m sueldo de su m de cam m de mra de cam m q son mra  
y aze p cam m y an si me no por la cantidad q mra mra de otros  
para los soldados de la fidera de la gabana le dan los of de esta villa mra de  
cantidad y en efecto todo quanto sin mra tiene su mra y cam m en aquellos  
fueres q dizen todo viene agudo en tres o quatro no to mra y asi mra que  
parece que aquello en quanto opoblacion es poco q en fidera es mra de mra  
el q sin mra alli gasta y poco el finto am mra y con bndria se enche de mra y  
poder en ello remedio y orden para q sin mra no gaste tanta cantidad sin finto







antes aya serim a otros y trayendo se los cobradores de quimen a Santome  
costumim poco y no costara esto y los cobradores y toda la poblacion tanto como  
en m. gasta en un mo en estos fuertes y dello vendria a tener en m. rentas.  
en la poblacion y a otro qe cosa muy util q cada uno de los vecinos  
y no que lo tenga uno siempre y que a posesionarlo de todo y de los vecinos  
y pobladores como serian de todo ello ellos y con esto crecieran las rentas reales  
y cesarim los castos q agora cada un se hacen y los tributos q los honbres en estos  
fuertes padecen en sumo de contento

Y lo que conbendria que se prohibiese para  
los franceses como agora estan

Y por ende q conuendria q se tomase cuenta y razon de lo que en estos fuertes se ta  
 jelenay. s. agutin sepa estado. y dello q para otros sea cubierto de caponia. de de que  
 se comencaron por que para son por murgas muros. y de personas noton abona  
 das q separen como ellos los dize los sitios quibiese y q se tomase q. delogasta  
 do de de el primero dia y del fento q atiendo y con esto se fencia lo q conuendria por  
 se para adelante

se para adelante  
y qten q el q fuese alli abreniase toda comunicacion y solidiese memorial por tuncion dello  
y q el leage conision para sentençion y deo agel tuncion y por q no hea lo q conuiniere  
como quien tiene la cosa presente

como quien tiene la cosa presente  
y tiene el gobernador de la isla de cuba por estar cerca o estar por sona capitane  
tornarse quenta y residencia cada dos o tres o mas años los gobernadores no  
brados por el adelantado y mienten que cada dos o tres años se han de  
renar el q en m. provee sino los por el adelantado causa mientes si conben en  
por todos las cosas. y quiere decir q para sustentar aquellos fechos es de  
probergo q tenga la gobernacion desta isla y aquello jura mente es q mienten  
como antes asido por todos d mioso por que lo q se es en isla de cuba se puede  
haber es como solida y caida y gano y los v. no debe en otra cosa sino darlo  
y tenerlo por que es su propiedad y no bien de otra cosa y el q tiene gobernador  
en esta isla de cuba goberna y es mudo luego todo lo necesario sin faltar

y fien por q' dlos soldados no felen da racion y cobrecer sonto q' felen de yao endimeros. Con  
venia q'ne decp'ma seentrase lo q'ne q'viesse en mester para mantencion  
tos y vertido y felen diese para d'costa y costos para en q' de su salario o fien de

tos y vertido y fechosie p<sup>er</sup> el costo y costos para en q<sup>ue</sup> se salvan y p<sup>er</sup>son  
y ten q<sup>ue</sup> por q<sup>ue</sup> de muela e boma se traen dineros para otros fines q<sup>ue</sup> se mandase a  
los q<sup>ue</sup> f<sup>u</sup>ero del real cazienda se muela e boma q<sup>ue</sup> se vendian en las f<sup>u</sup>erzas emplea.  
tod<sup>as</sup> op<sup>er</sup>ante como f<sup>u</sup>ero mase en y minas y capatos y p<sup>er</sup>nos de co<sup>ra</sup> de la tierra  
y en otros cosas que en muela e boma ay baxinos y se enbriase otros of<sup>er</sup>os de la villa  
alla Saloma p<sup>er</sup> q<sup>ue</sup> de aqui se enbriase y comesto se g<sup>u</sup>o tentaron como da miente y co<sup>ra</sup>  
on de mase volun<sup>er</sup>at q<sup>ue</sup> f<sup>u</sup>ero f<sup>u</sup>ero de f<sup>u</sup>erza de q<sup>ue</sup> en m<sup>u</sup>es m<sup>u</sup>es da

on de mejor voluntad que fides de prometera lo q bu m prometida doe  
✓ y por q como nuncien mientos my rogo no entrase en poder del adellan rudo ny de dende  
ny adab suyo ni por persona ni ofiual pael no braba ny de capiton alguuno sino  
q entrase en poder de paxson no braba por su m. y q el otro paxson fies fielmente  
ante co oituno G dello dase fe y testimonio

ante co. oitavo dello d'esse fl. y testimonio  
 ✓ Item que quando se hiciese deir a fazer para q' sempre se a de mo. y. m. y mas  
 que nola faga el abelhorado p' mender ny official ny persona q' el natural  
 hyendo solo. sino q' dela zabana fuese con la paga m' persona u official desta  
 villa dela zabana y q' diese la paga. a los soldados y de camina podria el que  
 fuese fazer repartir tanto de los barmientos, y al tomar de bidenca, q' m  
 lo fuese a tiempo y fuese tal persona  
 En la qual cosa entienan resolver en el mo. a los d'os nros  
 el 20 de mayo

no fue de tiempo y fuese tal por la zona  
y en que los otros donatilla de la goma enbiase nesvezes en el año a los otros puntos  
mbarco con carne salada y cacabe y sal y otros asidos pa los soldados y pobladores  
y feloxepartiesen aguenta de sus raciones pues le puse hacer tom final mente  
esto y mima mñ nesen y as necelario y q faltaba lo puse de bopma y de mba co pma  
y ten





y ten q' algu' fuese a fazer lo p'p'io se le mandase que p'p'io primero lo que se  
huyere d'au' para comido de los soldados q' a cada persona o cada p'ra que  
hallen alas necesidades q'ienles proveya y socorra.

y ten p'que los soldados que se van a q'ien los gobernadores don licençia de  
xan poderes al gobernador capitán o a sus ayu'das para cobrar los p'p'ios y r'a  
dones que se les q'ueban debiendo y selos don p' q' los dexen salir y desden  
licençia q'ese monte q'ue no se pague con poder la persona alguna salvo  
alos pobladores que huyeren d'au' comido a los tales soldados o para su  
venir que a los tales pague con poderes y no a otros.

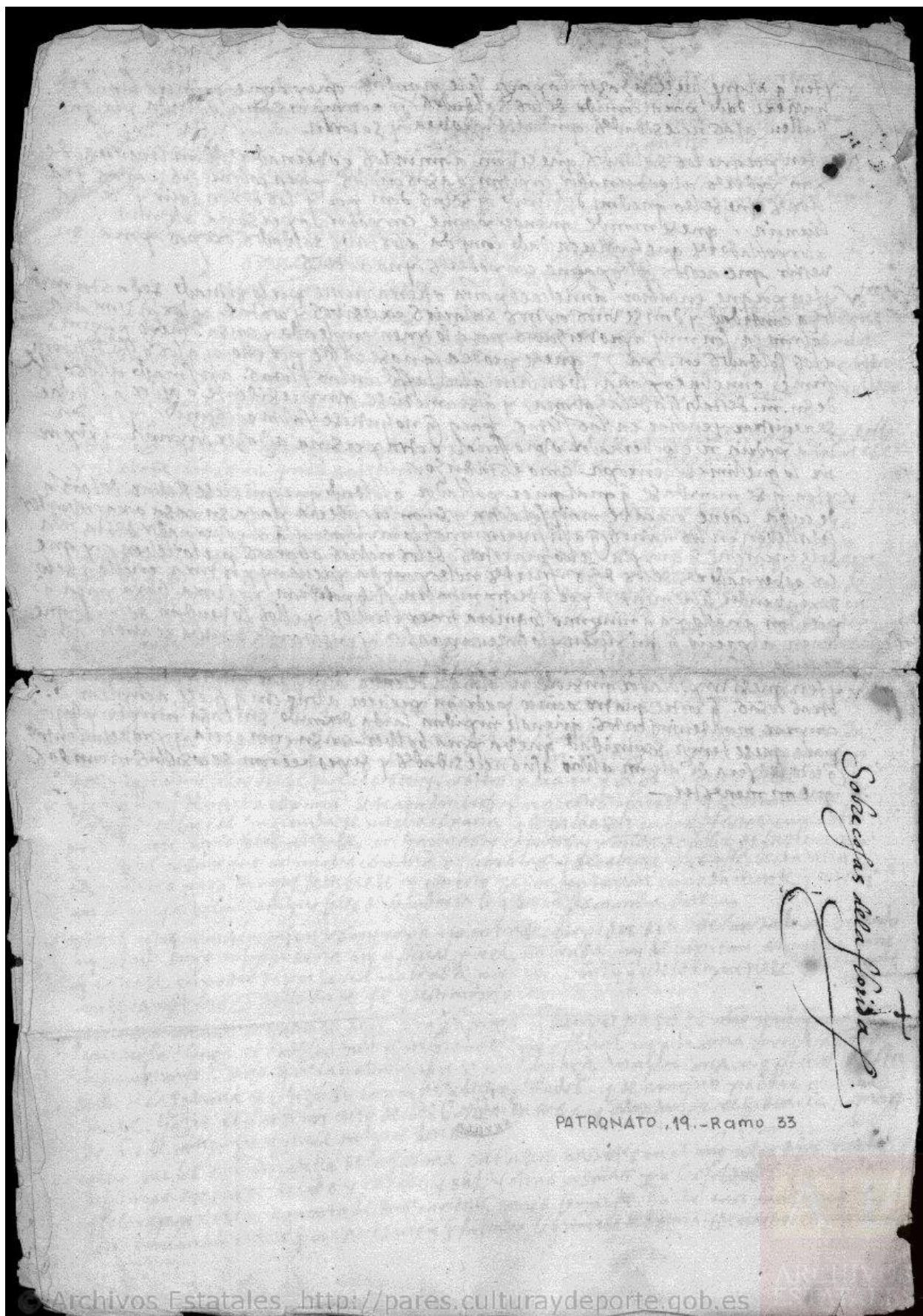
y ten p'que enentien' anel de la p'p'ia ohera fime p'alo situado seg' en mu  
lta cantidad y don se v'ien a otros salarios exesivos y ardos. y los q' don ala  
cobrança son muy agrovezados por q' lo van empleando y con su d'icho p'p'io  
alos soldados enropa q'ese p'roveya q' no se enle p' ello. y q' los of'ales q'ien  
fime omeba o p'p'ia. venbien a los of'ales en las flotas. con p'p'io a los of'ales  
de su m. de la villa de la habana y q' se ametiese al presidente o ayu'da q' lo h'ize  
se rep'itase y enbien en las flotas. p' q' q' no huyere f'alta o de seguridad. y q' de la  
villa podria ir el gobernador o su of'ial o otra persona a fazer lo p'p'io y rep'ir  
lo que le fuese enropa como es de d'icho.

y ten q' se mandase q' qualquier poblador o soldado que quisiese el d'icho de la  
de cuba carne o caña de mar solo a una o a otra o a ambas para su casa o para vender  
solo lleven en los navios q' alli fueren y no solo impidan q' q' algu' nador de esta isla  
dele encare q' comp'la a los p'p'ios. de los navios o de otros que lo lleven y que  
los gobernadores de los d'ichos navios no lo pongan p'cio ni p'p'ia en ello y solo  
dixen enbien libremente por q' de su monten. solo podria p'p'ia para q'  
puedan en ello pa q' ninguno lo quiera traer a otros y ellos lo vendan solos lo que  
traen al p'cio q' qui s'ien y lo h'izen a p'ra. y en esta isla de cuba se m'ito a  
lo f'ize.

y ten q'ese impoblador quisiese ir a otra de cuba a comprar montenim'entos  
o tras cosas. q' entre quatro o cinco podrian p'roveyer a los q' q' fuese a comprar d.  
compran montenim'entos. q'ienote impidan la ida de ellos en la casa m'iga y h'ijos  
para q'ese tener seg'uidad q'ueva para bolter con su gran g'era y p'roveyer esto  
Certo les f'ize de algu' alivio a sus necesidades y se p'roveyeron de asillas m'igas  
que en m'os ten.









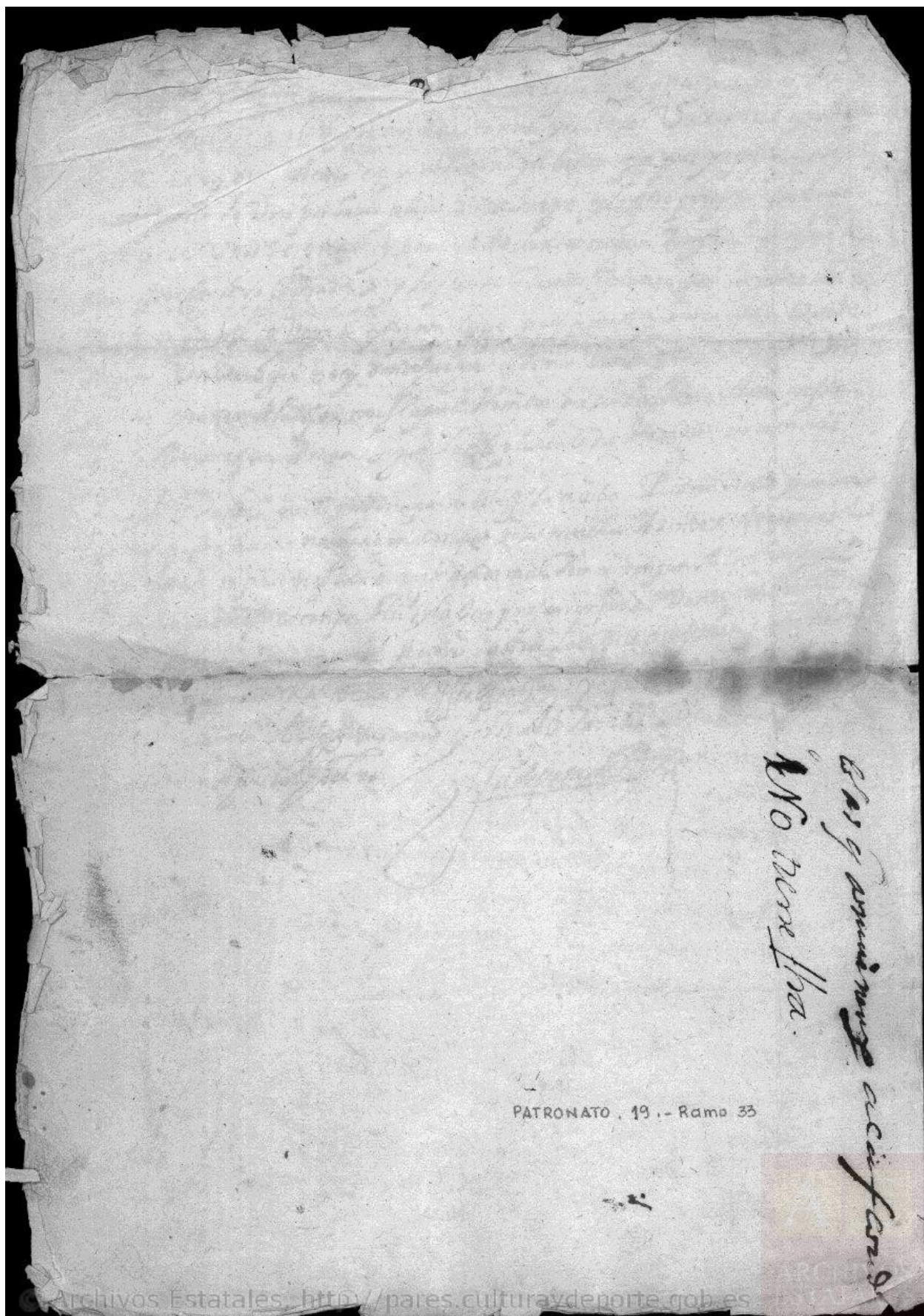














Appendix No. 2.16. Royal Instruction to Diego Columbus regarding Dominicans returning from Spain to Hispaniola.1512

г.<sup>593</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевское указание адмиралу дону Диего Колумбу и судьям Испанской империи, чтобы они хорошо относились к викарию и трем монахам ордена доминиканцев, которые возвращаются на этот остров, чтобы продолжить свою проповедь после того, как у них были определенные сомнения.

Указание подписано 18 сентября 1512 г. в г. Логроньо.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Orden a Diego Colón

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,419,L.4,F.23R(1)

***Fecha creación:*** 1512-09-18 , Logroño

**Código de referencia:**

ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,L.4,F.23R(1)

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/>

246433

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<sup>593</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
 Archivo General de Indias. [Documento]  
 ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,419,L.4,F.23R(1): Orden a Diego Colón.  
 [Fecha de creación] 27 de septiembre 1514, Valladolid. -  
 URL: [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/246433\(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020\).](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/246433(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).)



me 2/2

*Mundum non perit  
nisi digne sit  
venerat ysaia descripto  
et deinde de dyana*

Este es el contenido de un documento de la Real Audiencia de Lima, fechado en 1562, que trata sobre la venta de un terreno. El documento menciona a don Juan de la Cruz, quien vende un terreno a don Juan de la Cruz, y a don Juan de la Cruz, quien vende un terreno a don Juan de la Cruz. El documento también menciona a don Juan de la Cruz, quien vende un terreno a don Juan de la Cruz, y a don Juan de la Cruz, quien vende un terreno a don Juan de la Cruz.



Appendix No. 2.17. Royal Letter of Appointment of Juan Ponce de Leon Adelantado of Bimini Island. 1512 г.<sup>594</sup>

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевская грамота о заключении соглашения с Хуаном Понсе де Леоном на открытие и заселение острова Бими́ни, при условии, что остров не является одним из тех, что были обнаружены до этого времени, и с условиями, которые здесь указаны.

Документ подписан 23 февраля 2012 г. в г. Вальядолид.

***Título nombre atribuido:*** Asiento con Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,418, L.3,F.253R-255V

***Fecha creación:*** 1512-02-23 , Burgos

***Código de referencia:***

ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,418,L.3,F.253R-255V

Alcance y contenido:

Real Cédula tomando asiento con Juan Ponce de León para descubrir y poblar la isla de Biminí, con tal que no sea de las que hasta ahora están descubiertas, y con las condiciones que se expresan.

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/246226?nm>

<sup>594</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento]  
ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,418,L3,F.253R-255V.  
Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512,  
Burgos. –  
URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/246433> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

castilla a vista de los nuestros oficiales que Residentes  
Residieren en la nuestra casa de la contratación de Sevilla

Y ten por vos haer mandado que durante el tiempo  
de los dhos. tres años. No podais yr ni Vaya ninguna persona  
a descubrir la dhazsla de bi nini y si alguno fuere alades  
cubir o por acortamiento la descubiere se cumpla con vos lo  
en esta micapitulacion contenido. y no con la persona que  
Ansi la descubiere. E que por la des cubir otro. no podais.  
vos nada del derecho que adla tenais contanto que como  
dhos. os sagais alabela para la y a descubrir dentro  
del dho. primer año. E que de otra manera no balsa y contan  
to que nos sea de las q se tiene y a notida y sabiduria q esta

Y ten que hallando y descubriendo la dhazsla. En la  
manera que dicha es. vos sago. mand. de la gobernacion  
justicia della. por todos los dias. de vuestra vida y para ello  
vos doy poder cumplido y fuesis a conceylos y fimal con  
todas sus yns. denas y dependencias anexadas y con  
vidades.

Y ten que hallando la dhazsla segund dicho es se  
ais obligado alapoblar a vuestra costa en los lugares ya  
siento que me foylo podais hazer. E que gozeis de la occasio  
y fana y poblaciones. y heredades. que halli huyades  
y del provecho que en la dhazsla ouiere conforme  
alo concenido. En este asiento.

Y ten que se fortalezas se ouiere de hazer en  
la dhazsla ay an de ser y san a nuestra costa  
e pongamos. En ella nuestros. alcaides. como  
mas viciemos. que a nuestro seruicio cumpla. y



siente tanto que se hacen las dhas. fortalezas vos  
fraydes alguna casa. e casa de morada. e para de-  
fension de los yndios que estas sean vuestras pro-  
pio y si della's. Suuere necesidad. Para nuestro  
seruicio las. ayais de dar pagando lo que valieren

m y ten que vos. harenrd Por la presente vos la  
sago. por tiempo de diez e años. contados. desde el dia  
quedes cubricides. la dhazsla. de binini del dize mo  
de todas las rentas e prouechos. que anos pertene-  
can en la dhazsla. no siendo de los dueños de ma-  
granjeia porque de lo no abas de lleuar cosa alguna  
sino de lo que vos. y los que poblaren y estovieren en  
la dhazsla. por el dicho tiempo obicides por granjeia  
o en otra qualquier manera -

or y ten que el Repartimiento de los yndios que o-  
uiere en la dhazsla. se haga por la persona o personas  
que por mi fueren nombrados. y no de otra manera -

n y ten que yo mandare Por la presente mando  
que los yndios que s uiere en la dhazsla. se repa-  
ran segun. las personas que ouiere y que y primo  
secunpla. y sean por beydos los primeros descubridores que  
otras personas. algunas. e que a estos. se haga en ello to-  
dal abentaja. que buennamente suuere lugar -

n y ten que yo hago. mi d por tiempo de los dhas. diez años  
que gozen las personas que fueren a descubrir la dha  
sla y poblaren de a quel viaje. del oro. e otros me-  
talo e cosas de prouecho que en la dhazsla ouiere  
sin nos pagar dellos. mas. derecho del dicho mo. El





Primer Año. El Segundo. El Nobeno y el terçero y lo  
 cado y el quinto el sétimo. y el quinto año la sexta  
 parte y los otros. anco años benideros. pagando el quinto  
 segun e por la forma y manera que ha gora se paga en  
 la ysla española e que los otros pobladores que despues  
 fueren. que no sean de los descubridores paguen des  
 de el primer Año el quinto. Porque a estos y les man  
 dare dar otra franquicia de otras cosas que no sea del oro

Y teni. Por saber mas bien y mdo. a Vos el dicho Juan ponce  
 de leon es mi mdo. y Voluntad. que por las yslas que  
 estuviere en comarcas a la dicha ysla de bini que vos  
 descubriades. por vuestra persona ya vuestra costa y  
 mincion en la forma suso dicha y no siendo de las  
 que se tiene notia como dicho es. Tenga la goberna  
 cion y poblacion dellas con las condiciones. E segun que  
 en esta mica capitulacion se contiene e como por vertus de  
 la la abey. de tener de la dicha ysla.

Y ten que vos sago mdo. del titulo de nuestro Adelantado  
 de la dicha ysla. e de las otras que en la forma suso  
 dicha descubriades.

Y ten que se coxa el oro si lo huviere. Por la forma q  
 en la española se coxe. Agora e por la forma y manera  
 que yo mandare.

Y ten que no podais llevar En vuestra compania Para  
 los susodichos persona ni personas algunas Sean  
 estrangeros de fuera de nuestros. Rez nos y senos

Y ten que Para seguridad. que Vos el dicho Juan  
 ponce. e las personas que con vos fueren saraís.



y cumpliréis e pagaréis y sera Cumplido y pagado  
 Guardado lo en esta capitulaçion contenido/  
 Que A vos pertenesce guardar y cumplir Antes.  
 que fagais El dicho viaje deis fianças llanas  
 y abonaras. Acontentamiento de los mrs offi  
 que residen en la ysla Española de.

Y ten que Vos el dicho Juan ponce y las otras per  
 sonas que con Vos fueren e alli estuviere des  
 sauis y guarareis e pagaréis todo lo contenido  
 En esta dicha mi capitulaçion y cada cosa y par  
 te dello y no sauis. fidei niendano alguno ni daris  
 favor ni ayuda ni consentimiento para ello. E si lo supier  
 des lo notificareis a nos e a nros offiçales e n nro non  
 bre sopena que vos otros. quales quier personas. que lo  
 contrario hiciereis por el mismo fecho El que asi no lo cum  
 pliere aya perdido qualquier mro o/o ffraco que de nos to  
 uiere e pague por supersona y bienes todas las penas  
 que nos por bien touieremos. demandare e secutar en  
 sus personas y bienes. de aquellos y los que bien consin  
 tiere o encubieren.



Y Ten que des pues se allegaros a la ysla y sabido lo que en ella  
 ay me enbiao Relaçion dello. e ota A los mros offiçales  
 que residen en la ysla Española para que nos. sepamos  
 lo que se oviere fecho e se probea lo que mas a nro serui.  
 Cumpla

Y Lorende Cumpliendo Vos el dicho Juan ponce Todo lo  
 que dhoe y cada cosa y parte dello E dada o las dichas  
 fianças Guardando y pagando las cosas suso dhas.  
 Vos prometoy seguro por la presente de mandar guardar  
 e cumplir Todo lo en esta capitulaçion contenido E cada co  
 sa y parte dello E mando A los nros offiçales que resien  
 en en la ysla Española que en nro nonbre conforme a lo  
 suso dicho tomen con Vos el dicho x diento y capitulaçion  
 e necavan las dichas fianças e para vros despacho  
 mando A don diego colon mro almirante y gouernador



De la dicha ysla española. Los Nros Jueces de apela-  
cion e alq. oficiales de nra. hacienda que se si den en ella  
y a cada o las justicias de la dicha ysla española que vos den  
todo el favor e ayuda que oviere menester. Sin que en ello ni  
en cosa alguna se ponga ni ponga. Se vos ponga ni ponga ni  
ponga ni ponga ni ponga. A xxij de febrero de. D. xvj. q. a.  
Yo el Rey por mandado de su a. l. n. lo p. con. e. llos. Sena  
lada de los p. de palencia //

Concluido Joanponce Sobre  
ladha ysla. Bimpy

II. El Asiento. Se tomo por nro. mandado con Vos Joanponce de lla. n. Prago. El poblar a la  
ysla de b. n. m. El ysla Florida que vos descubistes por nro. mandado de mas. De la  
capitula. con y a. sientu que con Vos. Se tomo quando las fuistes. A. l. e. s. c. u. b. i. r. e. s. e. l. s. e. g. u. i. e. n. t. e.

III. Primeramente Por quanto En la dicha capitula. con. e. l. l. o. n. e. s. i. e. n. t. o.  
to que con Vos por nro. mandado se tomo. Sobre el descubir y poblar  
de la dicha ysla. Vos d. l. i. c. e. n. c. i. a. y f. a. u. l. t. a. d. a. p. a. r. a. q. u. e. p. o. r. t. i. e. n. p. o. r.  
t. e. m. p. o. d. e. t. r. e. s. a. n. o. s. q. u. e. c. o. m. e. n. c. a. s. e. n. d. e. s. d. e. e. l. d. i. a. q. u. e. v. o. s. f. u. e. r. e. s.  
e. n. t. r. a. d. a. l. a. d. i. c. h. a. c. a. p. i. t. u. l. a. c. i. o. n. p. u. d. i. e. s. e. d. e. s. l. l. e. u. a. r. A. t. r. a. c. o. s. t. a.  
d. m. a. n. s. i. o. n. l. o. s. n. a. v. i. a. s. q. u. e. q. u. i. d. i. e. s. e. d. e. s. c. o. n. t. a. n. t. o. q. u. e. f. u. e. s. e. d. e. s.  
o. b. l. i. g. a. d. o. A. d. e. s. c. u. b. i. r. e. n. t. r. o. d. e. l. p. r. i. m. e. r. o. a. n. o. y. p. o. r. q. u. e. s. a. l. t. a.  
A. g. o. r. a. o. s. a. b. e. i. s. o. a. p. a. d. o. e. n. c. o. s. a. s. d. e. n. u. e. s. t. r. o. s. e. r. u. i. a. o. y. n. o. a. b. e. i. s. t. e.  
n. u. d. o. t. i. e. n. p. o. r. a. d. e. n. t. e. n. d. e. r. e. n. e. l. l. o. e. s. m. i. m. r. d. y. v. o. l. u. n. t. a. d. o. q. u. e. l. o. s.  
d. i. c. h. o. s. t. r. e. s. a. n. o. s. c. o. m. i. e. n. c. e. n. A. c. o. r. r. e. r. y. s. e. c. u. e. n. t. e. n. d. e. s. d. e. e. l. d. i. a. q.  
e. n. b. a. r. c. a. r. d. e. s. p. a. r. a. y. r. A. l. a. s. d. i. c. h. a. s. y. s. l. a. s.

IV. Y ten que luego que fuerdes / o enbiardes A las dichas yslas. Saca  
lo quequier A los ca. a. q. u. e. s. y. n. d. i. o. s. d. e. l. l. a. s. p. o. r. l. a. m. e. j. o. r. m. a. n. y. o. m. a. n. a. s.  
q. u. e. s. e. l. e. s. p. u. e. d. a. d. a. i. a. c. e. n. t. e. n. d. e. r. l. o. q. u. e. s. e. l. e. s. d. i. x. e. r. e. c. o. n. f. o. r. m. e. A.  
U. n. r. e. q. u. i. u. m. i. e. n. t. o. q. u. e. s. t. a. / b. o. r. d. e. n. a. d. o. p. o. r. m. u. e. s. t. r. o. s. l. e. r. r. a. d. o. s. e. l. q. u. e. l.  
s. e. v. o. s. d. a. r. a. f. i. r. m. a. d. o. d. e. l. m. y. R. d. o. y. n. o. p. o. r. a. d. e. s. b. i. s. p. o. d. e. b. u. r. g. u. i.  
A. r. c. o. b. i. s. p. o. d. e. r. r. o. s. a. n. o. n. u. e. s. t. r. o. c. a. p. e. l. l. a. n. m. a. i. o. r. y. d. e. n. u. e. s. t. r. o. c. o. n.  
s. e. j. o. y. d. e. l. o. p. e. c. o. n. s. i. l. l. o. s. m. i. o. s. e. c. r. e. t. a. r. i. o. y. d. e. l. m. i. o. c. o. n. s. e. j. o. y. p. r. o. c. u.  
r. a. d. o. r. e. s. p. o. r. t. o. d. a. s. l. a. s. v. i. a. s. y. m. a. n. a. s. q. u. e. p. u. d. i. e. r. d. e. s. e. q. u. e. b. e. n.  
p. a. n. e. n. c. o. n. o. s. a. m. i. e. n. t. o. d. e. n. r. a. s. a. n. t. a. f. e. c. a. t. o. l. i. c. a. y. e. n. o. b. e. d. e. c. e. r.  
D. e. s. e. b. i. r. c. o. m. o. s. o. n. o. b. l. i. g. a. d. o. s. y. t. o. m. a. r. e. i. s. p. o. r. e. s. c. r. i. p. t. o. p. o. r. a. n. t. e.  
d. o. s. / o. t. r. e. s. e. s. c. r. i. u. a. n. o. s. s. i. l. o. s. o. u. i. e. r. e. y. a. n. t. e. l. o. s. m. a. s. t. e. s. t. i. p. o. s.  
y. m. a. s. A. b. o. n. a. d. o. s. q. u. e. s. a. l. l. a. s. e. h. i. a. l. l. a. u. n. p. a. r. a. q. u. e. A. q. u. e. l. l. o. s. i. r. u. a.  
p. a. r. a. m. i. a. j. u. s. t. i. f. i. c. a. c. i. o. n. y. e. n. b. i. a. r. m. e. i. s. l. a. s. d. i. c. h. a. s. s. c. r. i. p. t. u. r. a. s.

Appendix No. 2.18.A. Royal Charter on the agreement concluded with Juan Ponce de Leon on the discovery and settlement of Bimini Island <sup>595</sup>.

***Перевод описания документа.***

Королевский указ о соглашении и капитуляции, заключенных с Хуаном Понсе де Леоном по поводу открытия и заселении острова Бimini.

Документ подписан 23 февраля 2012 г. в г. Бургос.

***Titulo nombre atribuido:*** Asiento con Juan Ponce de León

***Signatura:*** INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.13R-15V

***Fecha creación:*** 1512-02-23, Burgos

***Código de referencia:***  
ES.41091.AGI/26//INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.13R-15V

***Alcance y contenido:***

Real Cédula del asiento y capitulación tomado con Juan Ponce de León sobre el descubrimiento y población de la isla de Bimini.

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/244376?nm>

*Приложение включает в себя 1 страницу, остальные же 5 страниц представлены в переводе в Приложении № 2.18.Б. Королевский указ о договоре, заключенном с Хуаном Понсе де Леоном на открытие и заселение острова Бimini.*

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<sup>595</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:  
Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,415, L.1, F.13R-15V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos. –  
URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/244376?nm>  
(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



Capit<sup>on</sup> con Juan ponce de leon  
Sobre el descubrim<sup>to</sup> de la ysla  
Benini —

v Porquien Vo<sup>s</sup> Juan ponce de leon me enbualtes A suplicar expedir por m<sup>do</sup>  
vos diese licencia y facultad para yr a descubrir y poblar la ysla de benini  
con ciertas condiciones que adelante seiran declaradas. Por ende Por vos  
hazer m<sup>do</sup> vos doy licencia y facultad para que podais yr a descubrir y  
poblar la dha ysla con tanto que no sea delas. Chasfa. Agora estan  
descubiertas. y en las condiciones segun que adelante seiran contenidas.  
En esta guisa

iv Primera mente que Podais con los. Navios que quisier  
des. llevar a vuestra costa y mision yr a descubrir  
y descubrir la dha ysla y para ello tengais. tres años de  
termino. Se quenten desde el dia que vos. fuere presentada  
esta mi capitulacion o setomare el ciento con los salie  
la dicha poblacion con tanto que seais obligado para la yr  
a descubrir dentro del primer año de los dhos. tres años  
e que alayda podais tocar. En qualesquier yslas. Itierras  
firmes. del mar oceano asides cubiertas. como por descubrir  
con tanto que no sean delas yslas. Itierras firmes del mar oceano  
que pertenecen al. Serenissimo. Rey de portugal. Nuestr  
muy caro y muy Amado hijo y entendiendose Aquellas  
que estuvieren dentro de los limites que entienos y estan  
senaladas. ni dellas. Ni de alguna dellas podais tomar  
ni aver ynteresse. ni otra cosa alguna. Salvo solamente  
la escassa que para vuestro manteni miento. y provision  
de navios. y gente que oviereis. menester pagando por  
ello lo que valieren

v y ten que Podais. Tomar y setomen Por vuestra parte  
En estos. Reynos de castilla. o en la dha ysla spanola para  
los susodichos los navios. manteni mientos. y oficiales y ma  
rinos y gente que oviereis. menester pagandolo todo se  
gan. sea costumbria. y siendo a vista en las yslas spanola  
de nuestros oficiales que al presente Residen y Re  
sidieren en Nuestra casa de la contrata con della y en



Приложение № 2.18.Б. Королевский указ о договоре, заключенном с Хуаном Понсе де Леоном на открытие и заселение острова Бимини<sup>596</sup>.

***Расстановка испанского текста согласно оригинальному тексту, сделанная Ашрафьяном К. Э. 2021 год***

El Rey  
Capitu[lación] con Joan Ponce de Leon  
sobre el descubrimiento de la isla [isla]  
Bemini.

Por quanto Vos Juan Ponce de Leon me enbiastes A suplicar e pedir  
por mer [mersed]

Vos diese licencia y facultad por yr a descubrir y poblar Las yslas de  
bininy [Bemini]

con ciertas condiciones que adelante seran declarados. Por ende, por  
vos

haser mersed Vos doy licencia y facultad, para que podais yr a  
descubrir

la dicha isla con tanto que no sea de las que asta agora estan  
descubiertas y con las condiciones, y segun adelante sera contenido.  
en esta guisa.

Primeramente que Podais con los Nabios que quisier-  
des llevar a vuestra consta y mincion ir a descubrir  
y desabrais la dicha isla y para ello tengais tres anos de  
termino se quenten desde el dia que vos fuere presentado  
esta mi capitulación o se tomare el asiento con vos sobre  
la dicha poblacion con tanto o seais obligado para la ir  
a descubrir dentro del primer ano de los dichos tres anos  
e que la yda a podais tocar en qualquier isla e Tierra  
Firme del mar oceano asi descubiertas como por descubrir  
Con tanto que no sean de las islas e tierra firme del mar oceano  
que pertenecen al Serenisimo Rey de Portugal Nuestro  
muy caro y muy Amado hijo y entiendese Aquellas  
que estuvieron dentro de los Limites que entre nos y el estan  
señaladas ni dellas podáis tomar  
ni aber interesse ni otra cosa alguna. Salvo solamente  
las cosas que para vuestro mantenimiento y provicion  
de navios y gente que ovierdes menester pagando por  
ellos lo que valieren.

Iten que podais tomar y se tomen por vuestra parte  
en estos Reynos de castilla o en la dicha isla Spanols para

<sup>596</sup> Библиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.13R-15V.  
Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512,  
Burgos.

URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/244376?nm>  
(fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).



lo susodicho los navios mantemientos y oficiales y marineros y gente que ovierdes menester pagandolo todo segun se acostumbra y siendo a vista en la isla Española. de los nuestros oficiales que el presente Residien y Residieren en la Nuestra casa del a contratación del la y en castilla en la nuestros oficiales que casa de contracción de Sevilla

Castilla avista de log nuestros oficiales que Residen y Residieren ente nuestra casa de la contrataron de seruer

Yten por vos hacer merced mando que durante el dicho tiempo de los Tres Anos no podais ir ni vaya ninguna persona a descubrir la dicha isla de Bimini y si alguno fuere a la descubrir o por accertamiento la descubriese se cumpla con vos lo en esta mi capitulación contenida Y no con la persona que ansi la descubriere E que por la descubrir otro no perdáis Vos nada del derecho que a ella tenéis con tanto que como es os hagais a la bela pa la ir [yr] a descubrir dentro del dicho primero ano e que de otra manera no valga y con tanta que no sea de las que se tiene ya notiacia y saviduria cierta. Iten [Yten] que hallando y descubriendo la dicha isla [dicha] isla [ysla]

la

manera que dicha es vos hago merced de la governacion y Justicia della por todos los días de vuestra vida y para ello vos doy poder cumplido y jurisdicción cevil y criminal con todas sus incidencias y dependencias anexidades y conexidades.

Iten que hallando las dichas yslas según dicho soes seais obligado a la poblar a vuestra costa y en los lugares y asiento que mejor lo podáis hazer y el que gozáis de las casas y estancias y poblaciones Y heredades que halli hizerdes y del provecho que en la dicha ysla oviere conforme a lo contenido en este asiento.

Yten que si fortalezas se ovieran de hazer en la dicha isla [ysla] ayen de ser y sean a nuestra costa E pongamos En ellas nuestros alcaides como mas viéremos que A nuestro Servicio cumpla y

si entre tanto que se hacen las dichas forralezas vos ficiedes alguna casa o casas de morada e para defension de los indios [yndios] questas sean vuestras propios y si dellas huviere necesidad para nuestro servicio las ayais de dar pagando lo que valieren.

Yten que vos hare merced y por la presente vos la hago por tiempo de doze anos contados desde el dia que sedcuvrierdes la cicha isla de bimini del diezmo de todas las rrentas e provechos que a nos pertenes-

can en la dicha ysla no siendo de los diezmos de nuestra grangeria porque desto no aveis de llevar cosa alguna sion de lo que vos y los que poblaron y estuvieran en la dicha ysla por el dicho tiempo ovierdes por granjería o en otra qualquier [cualquier] manera.

Iten que Reparimiento de los yndios que oviere en la dicha isla se haga por la persona o personas que por mi fueren nombradas y no de otra manera.

Yten que yo mandare y por la presente mando que los que huviere en la dicha isla se repartan segundo las personas que oviere y primero se cumpla y sean probeydos los primeros descubridores que otras personas algunas e que a estos se haga en ella toda la bentaja que buenamente huviere lugar.

Yten que yo hago merced por tiempo de los dichos diez anos que gozen las personas que fueren a descubrir la dicha ysla y poblaren aquel viaje del oro o otros metales e cosas de povecho que en la dicha isla oviere sin nos pagar dellos mas derecho del diezmo el

primer ano e el segundo el nobeno y el tercero el octabo y el setimo y el quinto ano la sesta parte y los otros cinco anos benideros pagando el quinto según e por la forma y manera que hoga se paga en la isla esanola e que los otros pobladores que después fueren que no sean de los descubridores paguen desde el primer ano el quinto porque a estos yo les mandare dar otras franqueça de otras cosas que no sea de oro.

Yten por hazer mas bien y merced a vos el dicho Juan ponce de león es mi merced y voluntad que todas las yslas que estuvieren comarcanas a la dicha ysla de bimini que vos descubierdes por vuestra persona y a vuestra costa y minsion en la forma susodicha y no siendo de las que se tiene noticia como dicho es tengáis la gobernación y población dellas con las condiciones e segund que en esta mi capitulación se contiene e como por bertud della la abeys de tener de la dich ysla.

Yten que vos hago merced de titulo de nuestro Adelantado de la dicha ysla e de las otras que en la forma susodicho descovierdes.

Yten que se cora el oro si lo huviere por la forma que en la española se core Agora y por la forma e manera que yo mandare.

Yten que no podáis llevar en vuestra compañía para lo susodicho persona ni personas algunas que sean

extrangeros de fuera de Nuestros Reynos y senorias.

Yten que para seguridad que vos el dicho Juan Ponce e las personas que con vos fueren haréis

y cumpliréis e pagareis y será cumplido y pagado guardado lo en esta capitalacion contenido que a vos pertenece guardar y cumplir Antes que fagais el dicho viaje diez fianças llanas y abonadas A contentamiento de los nuestros oficiales que residen en la ysla Española de.

Yten que vos el dicho Juan ponce e las otras personas que con vos fueren e allí estuviédes haréis y guardareis e pagareis todo lo contenido en esta dicha mi capitulación y cada cosa y parte dello y no haréis fraude ni engaño alguno ni dares favor ni ayuda ni consentimiento para ello e si lo sepierdes lo notificaries a nos e a nuestros oficiales en nombre so pena que vosotros e qualesquier personas que lo contrario hozierdes por el mismo fecho el que asi no lo cumliere haya perdido qualquier merced o oficio que de nos tuviere e pague por su persona y bienes todas las penas que nos por bien toviéremos de mandar esecutar en sus personas y bienes de aquellos y lo hacieren consintieron o encubrieren.

Yten que después de allegados a la ysla y sabido lo que en ella ay me embieis relación dello e otra a los nuestros oficiales que residen en la ysla española para que nos sepamos lo que se o viere fecho e se probea lo que mas a mio servicio cumpla.

Por ende cumpliendo vos el dicho Juan ponce Todo que dicho es y cada cosa y parte dello e dados las dichas fianças e guardando e pagano las cosas susodichos vos prometo y seguro por la presente de mandar guardar e cumplir todo lo en esta capitulación contenido e cada cosa y parte dello e mando a los nuestros oficiales que residen en la ysla española que en nuestro nombre conforme a lo susodicho tomen con vos el dicho asiento y capitulación e rrecivantas dichas fianças e para vuestro despacho mando a don Diego Colon nuestro almirante y gobernador

de la ysla española e a los nuestros juezes de apelacion e a los oficiales de nuestra hazienda que residen en ella y a todas las justizias de la dicha ysla española que vos den todo favor e ayuda que ovierdes menester sin que bretto ni enco sa alouna nepartedello se vos ponga nigung ympedimiento fecha en Burgos a XXIII de Febrero de DXII anos Yo El Rey por mandado de su alteza lope conchillos sena-

Lada del obispo de Palencia.



***Перевод Королевский указ о соглашении, заключенном с  
Хуаном Понсе де Леоном об открытии и заселении острова <sup>597</sup>.  
Перевод на русский язык выполнен Ашрафьяном К. Э.***

Король  
Капитуляция с Хуаном Понсе де Леоном  
об открытии острова  
Беймени (Бейними).

Поскольку ты, Хуан Понсе де Леон, послал ко мне прошение и просишь меня о милости выдать тебе лицензию и право отправиться на открытие и заселение островов Беймени [Беними] с определенными условиями, которые будут объявлены здесь, то по этой причине, чтобы проявить милосердие, я даю тебе лицензию и право, чтобы ты мог отправиться на открытие упомянутого острова, при условии, что он не может быть одним из тех, которые до сих пор уже обнаружены, с условиями и в соответствии с тем, что позже будет представлено здесь соответствующим образом.

Во-первых, ты можешь с кораблями, которые ты хочешь взять с собой, пойти с миссией и найти и открыть этот остров, и для этого у тебя есть три года, которые считаются со дня, когда тебе будет представлена эта капитуляция или контракт, заключенный с тобой в оговоренном соглашении, со снабжением, с которым ты будешь обязан отправиться на открытие в течение первого года из указанных трех лет. И ты можешь открыть любые острова и материки моря-океана, так что ты волен обнаружить их так много, как хочешь, кроме островов и материка моря-океана, которые принадлежат Светлейшему королю Португалии, нашему очень дорогому и очень любимому сыну, и понимая что то, что находится в пределах, которые между нами и им указаны, ты не можешь ни взять, ни иметь в чем-либо интересы, за исключением только вещей, что тебе нужны для обслуживания и снабжения судов и людей, в которых у тебя может возникнуть необходимость, если ты заплатишь за них столько, сколько они могут стоить.

Кроме того, что ты можешь взять и что может быть взято как твоя часть доли в королевствах Кастилии или на указанном острове Эспаньола, для вышеупомянутого должны оплачиваться все корабли, провизия, ремесленники, матросы и люди, которых ты считаешь необходимыми, в соответствии с обыкновением, существующим на острове Эспаньола, среди наших должностных лиц, которые в настоящее время находятся или могут размещаться в нашем Доме

<sup>597</sup> ёБиблиографическое описание документа:

Archivo General de Indias. [Documento] INDIFERENTE,415,L.1,F.13R-15V. Asiento con Juan Ponce de León. [Fecha de creación] 23 de febrero 1512, Burgos.

URL: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/244376?nm> (fecha de recurso: 29.10.2020).

торговли или в Кастилии в представительстве наших официальных лиц, которые находятся в нашем Доме торговли в Севилье.

Кроме того, будучи милостивым, повелеваю, что в течение этого времени – трех лет – ни один человек не может отправиться открывать упомянутый остров Бинини, и если кто-то обнаружит его случайно, то исполняется то, что содержится в моей капитуляции, а не то, что пожелает человек, который жаждет открыть его, и что при открытии кем-то другим ты не потеряешь ни одного права, которым ты обладаешь на него; при условии, как сказано, что ты отправишься в плавание, чтобы обнаружить его в течение указанного первого года, а иным образом это не будет действительным, и при условии, что это не может быть один из тех островов, о которых уже есть информация и определенные знания.

Более того, объявляю, что, при условии открытия и обнаружения упомянутого острова, я даю милость губернаторства и свершения правосудия на все дни твоей жизни, и за это я даю тебе исполнительную власть и гражданскую, и уголовную юрисдикцию со всеми ее полномочиями, зависимостями и связями.

И указываю, что, найдя эти острова в соответствии со сказанным мною, ты будешь обязан заселить их за твой счет и в местах, где ты можешь это сделать наилучшим образом, и владеть домами и помещениями, населением и наследственным имуществом, которые ты создал, и той пользой, которую ты найдешь на острове или увидишь в соответствии с тем, что содержится в этом месте.

Кроме того, объявляю, что, если крепости будут возведены на этом острове за наш счет, мы поместим в них наших надзирателей, и, пока они будут находиться на службе, ты построишь какое-нибудь здание или жилые дома для защиты от индейцев. Они будут твоей собственностью, и, если в этом будет необходимость для нашего государства, ты должен будешь нам отдать их, при том, что мы заплатим столько, сколько они стоят.

И пусть будет оказана тебе милость, и настоящим я подтверждаю это: в течение двенадцати лет, отсчитанных с того дня, как ты откроешь для себя остров Бимини, десятины всех доходов не должны будут отправляться в королевскую казну, необходимо обеспечить, чтобы они оставались на этом острове. Это касается только твоих поселенцев и ферм, которые вы постройте, и не будет относиться к будущим поселенцам.

Более того, пусть распределение индейцев, которые живут на этом острове, будет проведено человеком или людьми, которых я назову, а не иначе.

Кроме того, настоящим я приказываю, чтобы те, кто придет на этот остров позже, наделялись землей другими людьми, которых я назначу, и исполнителями этой воли будут первооткрыватели, чтобы дать им преимущество, а не другие люди.

Более того, я оказываю милость на время этих десяти лет, что люди, которые откроют этот остров и найдут в путешествии золото или другие металлы, не будут платить десятину первый год и второй, девятый и третий, восьмой, седьмой, и пятый год в общую часть, а остальные пять лет должны будут платить пятую часть по той форме и тем способом, которым выплачивают на острове Эспаньола и другие жители. Те же, кто не являются первооткрывателями, будут платить с первого года, как за пятый, потому что им я прикажу выплачивать другими вещами, кроме золота.

Более того, я делаю добро и милость тебе, нареченный Хуан Понсе де Леон, – моей волей все острова, расположенные рядом с этим островом Бимини, которые ты открыл собственной персоной и за свой собственный счет в экспедиции в вышеупомянутом виде, а не те, о которых известно, должны будут управляться таким же способом и с теми же условиями, и, во-вторых, в этой моей капитуляции содержится подтверждение прав на владение этими островами.

Более того, я дарю тебе своей милостью титул нашего аделантадо (Adelantado) указанного острова и других, которые ты откроешь, выполнив вышеупомянутые условия.

Кроме этого, то золото, что будет добыто, должно быть в виде, который принят сейчас в Испании и сейчас принято и в тем способом, которым я прикажу.

Более того, ты не можешь брать с собой в экспедицию ни одного человека, который является иностранцем, прибывшим из-за пределов наших Королевств и владений.

Кроме того, имей в виду, что в целях безопасности упомянутого Хуана Понсе де Леона и его людей, все, что содержится в этой капитуляции, должно будет выполнено, и необходимо оплатить указанную поездку десятью фиксированными облигациями, чтобы удовлетворить наших должностных лиц, находящихся на острове Эспаньола.

Кроме того, скажите Хуану Понсе де Леону и другими людьми, которые будут с ним, что вы будете исполнять, хранить и оплачивать все, что содержится в этом дарении, мою капитуляцию и каждую часть ее, и вы не будете совершать никакого мошенничества или обмана или предоставлять услугу, помощь или согласие на это, и что любой, кто не будет ценить нашу милость, заплатит это, а его личность и имущество

будут подвергнуты конфискации, будет приказано казнить людей и забрать имущество тех, с чьего согласия это скрыли.

Более того, скажите, что после того, как они отправятся на остров и узнают, что на нем есть, необходимо отправить мне и нашим должностным лицам, находящимся на острове Эспаньола, рассказ, чтобы мы знали, что о нем известно.

Таким образом, выполняя испрошенное Хуаном Понсе де Леоном, и каждую часть его, и учитывая упомянутые поручительства и сохраняя вышеупомянутые вещи, я обещаю и настоящим обязуюсь соблюдать и выполнять все, содержащееся в этой капитуляции и каждую часть ее. Я отправляю ее нашими должностным лицам, проживающим на острове Эспаньола, чтобы от нашего имени, как указано выше, взять с собой в указанное место капитуляцию и прочесть эти поручительства вашему офису, управляемому доном Диего Колоном, нашим адмиралом и губернатором острова Эспаньола, нашим апелляционным судьям и должностным лицам наших финансов, которые находятся там, а также всем судьям указанного острова Эспаньола, которые окажут вам все услуги и помощь, в которых вы нуждаетесь без каких-либо препятствий для вас.

Дата в Бургосе: 23 Февраля 1517 г.

Я, король,

По велению его Высочества

Лопе Кончильос,

уполномоченный епископом Паленсии.